

# THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

## *Three Volumes*

The launching of the new format in Everyman's Library has given the publishers the opportunity of enlarging their edition of Samuel Pepys's famous *Diary*. About half as much again has been added to what was included in the former edition, and this new edition, with modernized spelling and punctuation, has been prepared directly from that of the Rev. Mynors Bright, published in 1875-9 from his own transcript, which is by far the most accurate version of the text which has yet appeared. Lord Braybrooke's notes have been retained with minor corrections whenever they appeared useful, identifying persons, places, and obscure words.

In his selection of the material the editor, Mr John Warrington, has been guided by its human appeal and historic interest, and has preserved intact the drama of Pepys's public and private life, a drama so revealing that it has never failed to appeal anew to each succeeding generation of readers.

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54

## BIOGRAPHY

Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,  
In thy most need to go by thy side

**SAMUEL PEPYS**, born in 1633, the son of a London tailor. In 1659 entered the Civil Service, and distinguished himself as Secretary of the Admiralty. Committed to the Tower of London, 1679; released, 1680; reinstated in the Admiralty, 1683; dismissed after the Revolution and lived in retirement, chiefly at Clapham. Died in 1703.

# THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

IN THREE VOLUMES · VOLUME TWO

EDITED FROM

MYNORS BRIGHT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JOHN WARRINGTON



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# DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

1664 (*continued*)

April 1st. To White Hall; and in the Gallery met the Duke of York (I also saw the Queen going to the Park, and her Maids of Honour: she herself looks ill, and methinks Mrs. Stuart is grown fatter, and not so fair as she was); and he called me to him, and discoursed a good while with me; and, after he was gone, twice or thrice stayed and called me again to him, the whole length of the house: and at last talked of the Dutch, and I perceive do much wish that the Parliament will find reason to fall out with them. To walk in the garden with W. Howe, he telling me how my Lord is little at home, minds his carding and little else, takes little notice of anybody; but that he do not think he is displeased, as I fear, with me, but is strange to all. This day Mrs. Turner did lend me, as a rarity, a manuscript of one Mr. Wells, writ long ago, teaching the method of building a ship, which pleases me mightily.

2nd. At noon to the coffee-house, where excellent discourse with Sir W. Petty, who proposed it as a thing truly questionable, whether there really be any difference between waking and dreaming: that it is hard not only to tell how we know when we do a thing really or in a dream, but also to know what the difference is between one and the other.

3d. (Lord's day.) Called up by W. Joyce,<sup>1</sup> he being summonsed to the House of Lords tomorrow, for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters<sup>2</sup> for a debt. In the afternoon my wife sent for me home to see her new laced gown; and indeed it becomes her very nobly, and is well made.

4th. Up, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's; and there spoke with him about W. Joyce, who tells me he would do what was fit in so tender a point. Thence to Westminster, to the Painted Chamber, and there met the two Joyces. Will in a very melancholy taking. After a little discourse I to the Lords' House, before

<sup>1</sup> William Joyce had married Pepys's first cousin, Kate Fenner.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of John Savage, second Earl Rivers, and first wife to William, fourth Lord Petre, who was, in 1678, impeached by the Commons of High Treason, and died a prisoner in the Tower, 5th January 1684, *s.p.*

paper. Cave, being released, demands £5 more to secure my brother for ever against the child; and he was forced to give it him, and took bond of Cave in £100, made at a scrivener's—one Hudson, I think in the old Bailey, to secure John Taylor and his assigns, &c., in consideration of £10 paid him, from all trouble, or charge of meat, drink, clothes, and breeding of Elizabeth Taylor; and it seems, in the doing of it, J. Noble was looked upon as the assignee of this John Taylor. Noble says that he furnished Tom with this money, and is also bound by another bond to pay him 20s. more this next Easter Monday; but nothing for either sum appears under Tom's hand. I told him how I am like to lose a great sum by his death, and would not pay any more myself, but I would speak to my father about it against the afternoon. After dinner took coach, and to Paternoster Row, and there bought a pretty silk for a petticoat for my wife. I heard today that the Dutch have begun with us by granting letters of mark against us; but I believe it not.

7th. To the 'Change, where everybody expects a war. Thence to dinner, where my wife got me a pleasant French fricassee of veal.

8th. Sir W. Batten and I to Deptford to the alms-house, to see the new building which he, with some ambition, is building of there, during his being Master of Trinity House; and a good work it is. So home to dinner, and had an excellent Good Friday dinner of pease porridge and apple pie. So to the office all the afternoon. Then home to the only Lenten supper I have had of wiggs<sup>1</sup> and ale.

10th. (Lord's day.) My wife dressed herself, it being Easter day, but I, not being so well as to go out, she, though much against her will, stayed at home with me; for she had put on her best gown, which indeed is very fine now with the lace; and this morning her tailor brought home her other new-laced silk gown with a smaller lace, and new petticoat I bought the other day: both very pretty. We spent the day in pleasant talk and company one with another, reading in Dr. Fuller's book what he says of the family of the Cliffords and Kingsmills.

12th. To my uncle Wight's, where dined my father, poor melancholy man, that used to be as full of life as anybody, and also my aunt's brother, Mr. Sutton, a merchant in Flanders—a very sober, fine man, and Mr. Cole and his lady; but, Lord! how I used to adore that man's talk! and now methinks he is but an ordinary

<sup>1</sup> Buns, still called wigs in the west of England.

man, his son a pretty boy indeed, but his nose unhappily awry. To my Lord's. I found my Lord and ladies and my wife at supper. My Lord seems very kind. So home, and find my father come to lie at our house, and so supped, and saw him, poor man, to bed—my heart never being fuller of love to him, nor admiration of his prudence and pains heretofore in the world than now, to see how Tom hath carried himself in his trade; and how the poor man hath his thoughts going to provide for his younger children and my mother. But I hope they shall never want.

13th. To St. James's, where I found Mr. Coventry, the Duke being now come thither for the summer, with a goldsmith, sorting out his old plate to change for new; but, Lord! what a deal he hath!

14th. Up betimes, and, after my father's eating something, I walked out with him as far as Milk Street, he turning down to Cripplegate to take coach; and at the end of the street I took leave, being much afeard I shall not see him here any more—he do decay so much every day.

15th. At noon to the 'Change, where I met with Mr. Hill, the little merchant, with whom, I perceive, I shall contract a musical acquaintance; but I will make it as little troublesome as I can. To the Duke's House, and there saw 'The German Princess' acted by the woman herself; but never was anything so well done in earnest, worse performed in jest upon the stage. And indeed the whole play, abating the drollery of him that acts her husband, is very simple, unless here and there a witty sprinkle or two.

16th. With Mr. Coventry to the African House;<sup>1</sup> and, after a good and pleasant dinner, up with him, Sir W. Rider, the simple Povy, of all the most ridiculous fool that ever I knew, to attend to business, and Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts; but the more we look into them, the more we see of them that makes dispute.

17th. (Lord's day.) Up, and I put on my best cloth black suit and my velvet cloak, and with my wife in her best laced suit to church, where we have not been these nine or ten weeks. A young simple fellow did preach: I slept soundly all the sermon. Our parson, Mr. Mills, his own mistake in reading of the service, was very remarkable—that instead of saying 'We beseech thee to preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth,' he cries, 'Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine!'

<sup>1</sup> The African House was in Leadenhall Street.



18th. Up, and by coach to Westminster, and there solicited W. Joyce's business again; and did speak to the Duke of York about it, who did understand it very well. I afterwards did without the House fall in company with my Lady Peters, and endeavoured to mollify her: but she told me she would not, to redeem her from hell, do anything to release him; but would be revenged while she lived, if she lived the age of Methusalem. I made many friends, and so did others. At last it was ordered by the Lords that it should be referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider. So I away by coach to the 'Change; and there do hear that a Jew hath put in a policy of four per cent to any man, to insure him against a Dutch war for four months: I could find in my heart to take him at this offer. To Hyde Park, where I have not been since last year: where I saw the King with his periwig, but not altered at all; and my Lady Castlemaine in a coach by herself, in yellow satin and a pinner on; and many brave persons. And myself, being in a hackney and full of people, was ashamed to be seen by the world, many of them knowing me.

19th. To the Physic Garden in St. James's Park, where I first saw orange trees and other fine trees.

20th. Mr. Coventry told me how the Committee for Trade have received now all the complaints of the merchants against the Dutch, and were resolved to report very highly the wrongs they have done us, when, God knows! it is only our own negligence and laziness that hath done us the wrong: and this to be made to the House tomorrow.

21st. At the Lords' House heard that it is ordered that upon submission upon the knee, both to the House and my Lady Peters, W. Joyce shall be released. I forthwith made him submit and ask pardon upon his knees; which he did before several Lords. But my Lady would not hear it; but swore she would post the Lords, that the world might know what pitiful Lords the King hath; and that revenge was sweeter to her than milk; and that she would never be satisfied unless he stood in a pillory and demand pardon there. But I perceive the Lords are ashamed of her. I find that the House this day have voted that the King be desired to demand right for the wrong done us by the Dutch, and that they will stand by him with their lives and fortunes: which is a very high vote, and more than I expected. What the issue will be, God knows!

22d. I was called up this morning before four o'clock. It was

full light enough to dress myself: and so by water against tide, it being a little cool, to Greenwich; and thence, only that it was somewhat foggy till the sun got to some height, walked with great pleasure to Woolwich, in my way staying several times to listen to the nightingales. Thence I walked to Greenwich, Mr. Deane with me. Home, and by coach to Mrs. Turner's, and there, after reading part of a good play, Mrs. The., my wife, and I in their coach to Hyde Park, where great plenty of gallants, and pleasant it was, only for the dust. Here I saw Mrs. Bendy, my Lady Spelman's fair daughter that was, who continues yet very handsome. Many others I saw with great content, and so home. I did also carry them into St. James's Park, and showed them the garden.

23d. I met with Mr. Coventry, who himself is now full of talk of a Dutch war; for it seems the Lords have concurred in the Commons' vote about it; and so the next week it will be presented to the King, insomuch that he do desire we would look about to see what stores we lack, and buy what we can. Home to dinner, where I and my wife much troubled about my money that is in my Lord Sandwich's hand, for fear of his going to sea and being killed: but I will get what of it out I can.

24th. (Lord's day.) All the morning in my chamber setting some of my private papers in order; for I perceive that now public business takes up so much of my time, that I must get time a-Sundays or a-nights to look after my own matters.

25th. The Duke, which gives me great good hopes, do talk of setting up a good discipline in the fleet. In the Duke's chamber there is a bird, given him by Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, come from the East Indies - black the greatest part, with the finest collar of white about the neck; but talks many things, and neighs like the horse and other things, the best almost that ever I heard bird in my life. To my Lord Sandwich's, where by agreement I met my wife, and there dined with the young ladies; my Lady, being not well, kept her chamber. Much simple discourse at table among the young ladies. After dinner walked in the garden, talking with Mr. Moore about my Lord's business. He told me my Lord runs in debt every day more and more, and takes little care how to come out of it. He counted to me how my Lord pays use now for above £9,000, which is a sad thing, especially considering the probability of his going to sea, in great danger of his life, and his children, many of them, to provide for. Thence, the young ladies going out to visit, I took my wife by coach out through the City,

discoursing how to spend the afternoon; and conquered, with much ado, a desire of going to the play; but took her out at Whitechapel, and Bethnal Green; so to Hackney, where I have not been many a year, since a little child I boarded there. Thence to Kingsland by my nurse's house, Goody Lawrence, where my brother Tom and I was kept when young. Then to Newington Green, and saw the outside of Mrs. Herbert's house, where she lived, and my aunt Ellen with her; but, Lord! how in every point I find myself to over-value things when a child. Thence to Islington, and so to St. John's, to the Red Bull, and there saw the latter part of a rude prize fought; and thence back to Islington, and at the King's Head, where Puns lived, we 'light, and eat and drunk for remembrance of the old house sale; and so through Kingsland again, and so to Bishop-gate, and so home with great pleasure. The country mighty pleasant—only a little troubled at the young ladies leaving my wife so today, and from some passages fearing my Lady might be offended. But I hope for the best.

26th. Saw W. Joyce; and the late business hath cost the poor man above £40; besides, he is likely to lose his debt. Thence to my Lord's, and with him I rode in his coach to St. James's; and my Lady Peters, he says, is a drunken jade, he him self having seen her drunk in the lobby of their House. With my Lord to the Duke, where methought the Duke did not show him any so great fondness as he was wont; and methought my Lord was not pleased that I should see the Duke made no more of him. Creed and I walked round the Park—a pleasant walk—observing the birds, which is very pleasant; and so walked to the New Exchange, and there had a most delicate dish of curds and cream. Home to the Old Exchange by coach, where great news and true, I saw by written letters, of strange fires seen at Amsterdam in the air—and not only there, but in other places thereabout. The talk of a Dutch war is not so hot, but yet I fear it will come to it. My wife gone this afternoon to the burial of my she-cousin Scott, a good woman; and it is a sad consideration how the Pepyses decay, and nobody almost that I know in a present way of increasing them.

27th. All the morning very busy with multitude of clients, till my head began to be overloaded. Home with Alderman Backwell, whose opinion is that the Dutch will not give over the business without putting us to some trouble to set out a fleet; and then, if they see we go on well, will seek to salve up the matter. Met Mr. Sanchy, of Cambridge, whom I have not met a great while.

May 1664

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

He seems a simple fellow, and tells me their Master,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rainbow, is newly made Bishop of Carlisle. This day the Houses attended the King and delivered their votes to him upon the business of the Dutch; and he thanks them, and promises an answer in writing.

29th. My wife and I by coach to see my Lady Sandwich, where we find all the children and my Lord removed, and the house so melancholy that I thought my Lady had been dead, knowing that she was not well; but it seems she hath the measles, and I fear the small-pox, poor lady. It grieves me mightily, for it will be a sad hour to the family should she miscarry.

30th. My Lord Bristol's business is hushed up, and nothing made of it—he is gone, and the discourse quite ended.

May 2d. By coach to the King's playhouse to see 'The Labyrinth,'<sup>2</sup> but, coming too soon, walked to my Lord's to hear how my Lady do—who is pretty well; at least, past all fear. There by Captain Ferrers, meeting with an opportunity of my Lord's coach to carry us to the Park anon, we directed it to come to the playhouse door; and so we walked, my wife and I and Mademoiselle. I paid for her going in, and there saw 'The Labyrinth,' the poorest play, methinks, that ever I saw, there being nothing in it but the odd accidents that fell out by a lady's being bred up in man's apparel, and a man in woman's. Here was Mrs. Stuart, who is indeed very pretty, but not like my Lady Castlemaine for all that. Thence in the coach to the Park, where no pleasure, there being much dust, little company, and one of our horses almost spoiled by falling down and getting his leg over the pole; but all mended presently, and, after riding up and down, home. Set Mademoiselle at home, and we home, and to my office, whither comes Mr. Bland, and pays me the debt he acknowledged he owed me for my service in his business of the Tangier merchant—twenty pieces of new gold, a pleasant sight. It cheered my heart; and, he being gone, I home to supper, and showed them my wife; and she, poor wretch, would fain have kept them to look on, without any other design but a simple love to them; but I thought it not convenient, and so took them into my own hand.

3d. Drank my morning draught in good chocolate, and slubbering my hand sent home for another; and so to Mr. Coventry's chamber where I endeavoured to show the tolly, and punish it as

<sup>1</sup> Of Maedalen College.

<sup>2</sup> Or *The Fatal Embarrassment*, taken from *Comedie*.

much as I could, of Mr. Povy; for, all the men in the world, I never knew any man of his degree so great a coxcomb in such employments. I see I have lost him for ever, but I value it not; for he is a coxcomb, and, I doubt, not over-honest, by some things which I see: and yet, for all his folly, he hath the good luck, now and then, to speak his follies in as good words, and with as good a show, as if it were reason and to the purpose, which is really one of the wonders of my life. Thence walked to Westminster Hall; and there, in the Lords' House, did in a great crowd, from ten o'clock till almost three, hear the cause of Mr. Robartes, my Lord Privy Seal's son against Win, who by false ways did get the father of Mr. Robartes's wife, Mr. Bodvile, to give him the estate and disinherit his daughter. The cause was managed for my Lord Privy Seal by Finch, the Solicitor; but I do really think that he is truly a man of as great eloquence as ever I heard, or ever hope to hear in all my life. Mr. Cutler told me how for certain Lawson hath proclaimed war again with Algiers, though they had, at his first coming, given back the ships which they had taken, and all their men; though they refused afterwards to make him restitution for the goods which they had taken out of them. I went with Mr. Norbury near hand to the Fleece, a mum-house in Leadenhall, and there drunk mum,<sup>1</sup> and by and by broke up.

4th. Up, and my new tailor, Langford, comes and takes measure of me for a new black cloth suit and cloak. To my cousin Scott's. There condoled with him the loss of my cousin, his wife, and talked about his matters, as attorney to my father in his administering to my brother Tom. He tells me we are like to receive some shame about the business of his bastard with Jack Noble; but no matter, so it cost us no money. The plague increases at Amsterdam.

5th. My eyes begin every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight; which I never observed till now.

7th. After dinner comes Deane of Woolwich, and I spent all the afternoon with him about instructions which he gives me to understand the building of a ship, and I think I shall soon understand it.

8th. (Lord's day.) This day my new tailor, Mr. Langford, brought me home a new black cloth suit and cloak lined with silk

<sup>1</sup> Mum was a wholesome kind of malt liquor prepared in Germany. The receipt for making it is given in Rees's *Encyclopaedia*.

*May 1664*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

moyre. My wife and I to Sir W. Pen, and the perfidious rogue seems mightily civil to us, though I know he hates and envies us.

9th. To my Lady Sandwich's, who, good Lady, is now, thanks be to God! so well as to sit up, and sent to us, if we were not afraid to come up to her. So we did: but she was mightily against my wife's coming so near her; though, poor wretch! she is as well as ever she was, as to the measles, and nothing can I see upon her face. There we sat talking with her above three hours, till six o'clock, of several things, with great pleasure, and so away.

12th. By a letter to me this afternoon from Mr. Coventry I saw the first appearance of a war with Holland.

13th. Up before three o'clock, and a little after upon the water, it being very light as at noon, and a bright sun-rising; but by and by a rainbow appeared, the first that ever in a morning I saw. In the Painted Chamber I heard a fine conference between some of the two Houses upon the Bill for Conventicles. They broke up without coming to any end in it. There was also in the Commons' House a great quarrel about Mr. Prin, and it was believed that he should have been sent to the Tower for adding something to a Bill after it was ordered to be engrossed, of his own head—a Bill for measures for wine and other things of that sort, and a Bill of his own bringing in; but it appeared he could not mean any hurt in it. But, however, the King was fain to write in his behalf, and all was passed over. But it is worth my remembrance that I saw old Ryley,<sup>1</sup> the Herald, and his son, and spoke to his son, who told me, in very bad words concerning Mr. Prin, that the King had given him an office of keeping the Records; but that he never comes thither, nor had been there these six months: so that I perceive they expect to get his employment from him. Thus everybody is liable to be envied and supplanted.

16th. With Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, to see an experiment of killing a dog by letting opium into his hind leg. He and Dr.

<sup>1</sup> At the Restoration William Ryley had been deprived of all his posts, including the office of Clerk of the Tower Records, which was given to Prynne. Ryley was originally made Lancaster Herald by Charles I, but he sided with the Parliament, and devoted himself to Oliver Cromwell. He was fortunate in being afterwards restored to the post of Lancaster Herald, which he held till his death, in 1667, though he failed in getting back Prynne's appointment. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Chester, Bart., of Chichley, Buckinghamshire, Ryley had a numerous issue. Perhaps the son here mentioned was William Ryley, described by Prynne as of the Inner Temple, in 1662.

Clerke did fail mightily in hitting the vein, and in effect did not do the business after many trials; but, with the little they got in the dog did presently fall asleep, and so lay till we cut him up; and a little dog also, which they put it down his throat—he also staggered first, and then fell asleep, and so continued. Whether he recovered or no, after I was gone, I know not, but it is a strange and sudden effect.

18th. A pretty cabinet sent me by Mr. Shales,<sup>1</sup> which I give my wife, and very conveniently it comes for her closet. This day I begun drinking buttermilk and whey, and I hope to find great good by it.

19th. To a Committee of Tangier; where God forgive how our Report of my Lord Peterborough's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, without one of them understanding it! And, had it been what it would, it had gone: and, besides, not one thing touching the King's profit in it minded or hit upon.

20th. Mr. Edward Montagu is turned out of the Court, not to return again. His fault, I perceive, was his pride, and, most of all, his affecting to be great with the Queen; and it seems indeed he had more of her ear than anybody else, and would be with her talking alone two or three hours together; insomuch that the Lords about the King, when he would be jesting with them about their wives, would tell the King that he must have a care of his wife too, for she hath now the gallant: and they say the King himself did once ask Montagu how his mistress, meaning the Queen, did. He grew so proud, and despised everybody, besides suffering nobody, he or she, to get to do anything about the Queen, that they all laboured to do him a good turn. They also say that he did give some affront to the Duke of Monmouth, which the King himself did speak to him of. But strange it is that this man should, from the greatest negligence in the world, come to be the miracle of attendance: so as to take all offices from everybody, either men or women, about the Queen. So he is gone, nobody pitying, but laughing at him; and he pretends only that he is gone to his father, that is sick in the country.

21st. Very hot we are getting out some ships. With my wife called to see my Lady Sandwich, whom we found in her dining-room, which joyed us mightily; but she looks very thin, poor woman, being mightily broke.

22d. (Lord's day.) To White Hall. Here the Duke of York

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Shales.

*May 1664*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

called me to him to ask me whether I did intend to go with him to Chatham or no. I told him if he commanded, but I did believe there would be business here for me, and so he told me then it would be better to stay. Thence, after staying, and seeing the throng of people to attend the King to Chapel (but, Lord! what a company of sad, idle people they are), I walked to St. James's and then to White Hall. Home to a good supper of peace, and so to bed.

23d. The King is gone down with the Duke and a great crew this morning by break of day to Chatham.

24th. This day I heard that my uncle Fenner is dead, which makes me a little sad, to see with what speed a great many of my friends are gone, and more, I fear for my father's sake, are going.

25th. This afternoon came Tom and Charles Pepys<sup>1</sup> by my sending for, and received of me £40 in part towards their £70 legacy of my uncle's.

26th. Carried my wife to the Old Bailey, and there we were led to the Quest House, by the church, where all the kindred were by themselves at the burial of my uncle Fenner; but, Lord! what a pitiful rout of people there was of them, but very good service, and great company the whole was. And so anon to church, and a good sermon, and so home.

27th. To the office, where busy till my brains ready to drop with variety of business, and vexed for all that to see the Service like to suffer by other people's neglect. But to comfort my heart, Captain Taylor this day brought me £20 he promised me for my assistance to him about his masts. This morning my tailor brought me a very tall maid to be my cook-maid. She asked £5, but my wife offered her £3 10s. 0d.—whether she will take it or no I know not till to-morrow; but I am afeard she will be over high for us, she having last been a chambermaid, and holds up her head, as my little girl Sue observed.

28th. With Mr. Deane to a second lesson upon my ship-wrightry, wherein I go on with great pleasure. But, Lord! to see how my very going to the 'Change, and being without my gown, presently brought me wind and pain, till I came home and was well again: but I am come to such a pass that I shall not know what to do with myself, but I am apt to think that it is only my legs that I take cold in from my so long having worn a gown constantly.

29th. (Whit Sunday.) King's birth and Restoration day. Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Pepys was, in 1689, master joiner at Chatham.



Coventry and I did long discourse together of the business of the Office, and the war with the Dutch; and he seemed to argue mightily upon the little reason that there is for all this. For, first, as to the wrong we pretend they have done us (that of the East Indies, for their not delivering of Poleron),<sup>1</sup> it is not yet known whether they have failed or no; that of their hindering the Leopard cannot amount to above £3,000, if true; that of the Guinea Company, all they had done us did not amount to above 2 or £300 he told me truly; and that now, from what Holmes, without any commission, hath done in taking an island and two forts, hath set us much in debt to them; and he believes that Holmes will have been so puffed up with this, that he by his time hath been enforced with more strength than he had then, hath, I say, done a great deal more wrong to them. He do, as to the effect of the war, tell me clearly that it is not any skill of the Dutch that can hinder our trade if we will, we having so many advantages over them, of winds, good ports, and men; but it is our pride, and the laziness of the merchant. The main thing he desired to speak with me about was to understand my Lord Sandwich's intentions as to going to sea with this fleet; saying that the Duke, if he desires it, is most willing to do it; but, thinking that twelve ships is not a fleet fit for my Lord to be troubled to go out with, he is not willing to offer it to him till he hath some intimations of his mind to go or not. He spoke this with very great respect to my Lord, though methinks it is strange they should not understand one another better at this time than to need another's mediation. To the King's closet; whither by and by the King came, my Lord Sandwich carrying the sword. A Bishop preached. By and by my Lord Sandwich came forth and called me to him: and we fell into discourse a great while about his business, wherein he seems to be very open with me, and to receive my opinion as he used to do: and I hope I shall become necessary to him again. He desired me to think of the fitness, or not, for him to offer himself to go to sea; and to give him my thoughts in a day or two. Thence, after sermon, among the ladies in the Queen's side, where I saw Mrs. Stuart, very fine and pretty, but far beneath my Lady Castlemaine. Thence with Mr. Povy home to dinner; where extraordinary cheer. After dinner up and down to see his house. And in a word, methinks, for his perspective upon the wall in his garden, and the

<sup>1</sup> One of the Banda Islands, which had acknowledged James I as its sovereign, but was afterwards forcibly seized by the Dutch.

May 1664

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

springs rising up with the perspective in the little closet; his room floored above with woods of several colours, like but above the best cabinet-work I ever saw; his grotto and vault, with his bottles of wine, and a well therein to keep them cool; his furniture of all sorts; his bath at the top of his house, good pictures, and his manner of eating and drinking; do surpass all that ever I did see of one man in all my life.

30th. Lay long, the bells ringing, it being holiday; and then up and all the day long in my study at home studying of shipmaking with great content till the evening.

31st. Up, and called upon Mr. Hollyard, with whom I advised and shall fall upon some course of doing something for my disease of the wind, which grows upon me every day more and more. To my Lord, and to discourse about his going to sea, and the message I had from Mr. Coventry to him. He wonders, as he well may, that this course should be taken, and he every day with the Duke, who, nevertheless, seems most friendly to him, who hath not yet spoke one word to my Lord of his desire to have him go to sea. My Lord do tell me clearly that were it not that he, as all other men that were of the Parliament side, are obnoxious to reproach, and so is forced to bear what otherwise he would not, he would never suffer everything to be done in the Navy, and he never be consulted; and it seems, in the naming of all these Commanders for this fleet, he hath never been asked one question. But we concluded it wholly inconsistent with his honour not to go with this fleet, nor with the reputation which the world hath of his interest at Court; and so he did give me commission to tell Mr. Coventry that he is most willing to receive any commands from the Duke in this fleet, were it less than it is, and that particularly in this service. With this message I parted, and by coach to the office, where I found Mr. Coventry and told him this. Methought, I confess, he did not seem so pleased with it as I expected, or at least could have wished, and asked me whether I had told my Lord that the Duke do not expect his going, which I told him I had. To St. James's, to one Lady Poulteneys,<sup>1</sup> where I found my Lord, I doubt, at some vain pleasure or other. To my monthly accounts, where I find myself come to £930. I was told today, that upon Sunday night last, being the King's birthday,

<sup>1</sup> This lady was Grace, youngest daughter of Sir John Corbet, of Stoke, Salop, who had married Sir William Poulteneys, of Mesterton, in Leicestershire, who was knighted at Whitehall. 4th June 1660.

the King was at my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings over the hither-gate at Lambert's lodgings, dancing with fiddlers all night almost; and all the world coming by taking notice of it.

June 1st. Mr. Hollyard came to me, and to my great sorrow, after his great assuring me that I could not possibly have the stone again, he tells me that he do verily fear that I have it again, and has brought me something to dissolve it, which do make me very much troubled and pray to God to ease me. By water to Woolwich and Deptford, all the way reading Mr. Spencer's<sup>1</sup> book of Prodigies, which is most ingeniously writ, both for matter and style. Southwell,<sup>2</sup> Sir W. Pen's friend, tells me the very sad news of my Lord Teviot's and nineteen more commission officers' being killed at Tangier by the Moors, by an ambush of the enemy upon them, while they were surveying their lines: which is very sad, but he says afflicts the King much. To the King's House, and saw 'The Silent Woman'; but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be. Before the play was done it fell such a storm of hail, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise; and all the house in a disorder.<sup>3</sup>

2d. To a Committee of Tangier about providing provisions, money, and men; but it is strange to see how poorly and brokenly things are done of the greatest consequence, and how soon the memory of this great man is gone, or at least out of mind, by the thoughts of who goes next, which is not yet known. My Lord of Oxford, Muskerry, and several others are discoursed of. It seems my Lord Teviot's design was to go a mile and half out of the town, to cut down a wood in which the enemy did use to lie in ambush. He had sent several spies; but all brought word that the way was clear, and so might be for anybody's discovery of an enemy before you are upon them. There they were all snapped, he and all his officers, and about two hundred men, as they say; there being left now in the garrison but four captains. This happened the 3d of May last, being not before that day twelvemonth of his entering into his government there: but, at his going

<sup>1</sup> John Spencer, D.D., who died in 1693, was also the author of a celebrated work, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*. His *Discourse concerning Prodigies* first appeared in 1663; the second edition, of 1665, contains likewise a *Discourse concerning Vulgar Prophecies*.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Robert Southwell.

<sup>3</sup> The Blackfriars Theatre was entirely roofed over, and had a pit, instead of a mere enclosed yard; whilst the stage portion alone of the public play-houses was protected from the weather. The house was lighted by a cupola.

out in the morning, he said to some of his officers, 'Gentlemen, let us look to ourselves, for it was this day three years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moors, when Fines<sup>1</sup> made his sally out.'

3d. At the Committee for Tangier all the afternoon—the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry, for aught I see, being the only two that do anything like men; Prince Rupert do nothing but swear and laugh, with an oath or two.

4th. I went forth with J. Noble, who tells me that he will secure us against Cave; that though he knows, and can prove it, yet nobody else can prove it, to be Tom's child; that the bond was made by one Hudson, a scrivener, next to the Fountain tavern, in the Old Bailey; that the children were born and christened and entered in the parish-book of St. Sepulchre's, by the name of Anne and Elizabeth Taylor; and he will give us security against Cave if we pay him the money. To the Duke, and was with him giving him an account how matters go, and of the necessity there is of a power to press seamen, without which we cannot really raise men for this fleet of twelve sail, besides that it will assert the King's power of pressing, which at present is somewhat doubted, and will make the Dutch believe that we are in earnest. To the Committee for Tangier all afternoon, where still the same confused doings, and my Lord FitzHarding now added to the Committee, which will signify much. Mr. Coventry discoursing this noon about Sir W. Batten, what a sad fellow he is, told me how the King told him the other day how Sir W. Batten, being in the ship with him and Prince Rupert when they expected to fight with Warwick, did walk up and down sweating, with a napkin under his throat to dry up his sweat: and that Prince Rupert, being a most jealous man, and particularly of Batten, do walk up and down swearing bloodily to the King that Batten had a mind to betray them today, and that the napkin was a signal: 'but, by God,' says he, 'if things go ill, the first thing I will do is to shoot him.' He discoursed largely and bravely to me concerning the different sort of valours, the active and passive valour. For the latter, he brought as an instance General Blake, who, in the defending of Taunton and Lyme for the Parliament, did, through his stubborn sort of valour, defend it the most *opiniâtrément* that ever any man did anything; and yet never was the man that ever made an attack by land or sea, but rather avoided it on all, even fair occasions. On the other

<sup>1</sup> Major Fiennes, whose regiment formed part of the garrison at Tangier.

side, Prince Rupert, the boldest attacker in the world for personal courage: and yet, in the defending of Bristol, no man ever did anything worse, he wanting the patience and seasoned head to consult and advise for defence, and to bear with the evils of a siege. The like he says of my Lord Teviot, who was the boldest adventurer of his person in the world: and from a mean man in few years was come to this greatness of command and repute only by the death of all his officers, he many times having the luck of being the only survivor of them all, by venturing upon services for the King of France that nobody else would; and yet no man upon a defence, he being all fury and no judgment in a fight. He tells me, above all, of the Duke of York, that he is more himself, and more of judgment is at hand in him, in the middle of a desperate service than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirk, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried himself and the rest through them safe, by advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him. 'For,' says he, 'the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them': and, though he is a man naturally martial to the highest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one word of himself or service of his own, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxim that a hector can have no courage. He told me also, as a great instance of some men, that the Prince of Condé's excellence is that there not being a more furious man in the world, danger in fight never disturbs him more than just to make him civil, and to command in words of great obligation to his officers and men; but without any the least disturbance in his judgment or spirit.

6th. By barge with Sir W. Batten to Trinity House. Here were at dinner my Lord Sandwich, Mr. Coventry, my Lord Craven, and others. A great dinner and good company. Mr. Prin, also, who would not drink any health, no, not the King's, but sat down with his hat on all the while; but nobody took notice of it to him at all.

8th. With Creed talking of many things, among others of my Lord's going so often to Chelsea, and he do tell me that his daughters do perceive all, and do hate the place and the young woman, Mrs. Betty Becke; for my Lord who sent them thither only for a disguise for his going thither, will come under a pretence

*June 1664*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

to see them, and pack them out of doors to the Park, and stay behind with her: but now the young ladies are gone to their mother to Kensington. After dinner till ten at night in my study writing of my old broken office notes in shorthand all in one book, till my eyes did ache ready to drop out.

11th. With my wife only to take the air, it being very warm and pleasant, to Bow and Old Ford: and thence to Hackney. There 'light, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries, and so with good refreshment home.

12th. (Lord's day.) Troubled in my mind about the knavery and neglect of Captain Fudge and Taylor, who were to have had their ship for Tangier ready for Thursday last, and now the men by mistake are come on board, and not any master or man or boy of the ship's company on board with them when we came by her side this afternoon.

13th. Up at 5 o'clock, and with Captain Taylor on board her at Deptford, and found all out of order, only the soldiers civil. I rated at Captain Taylor whom, contrary to my expectation, I found a lying and very stupid blundering fellow, good for nothing, a lying knave, and of no judgment or dispatch at all. After finding the condition of the ship—no master, not above four men, and many ship's provisions, sails and other things wanting—I went back and called upon Fudge whom I found like a lying rogue unready to go on board; but I did so jeer him that I made him get everything ready, and left Taylor and H. Russell to quicken him, and so away by water on to White Hall where I met His Royal Highness at a Tangier Committee about this very thing, and did there satisfy him how things are, at which all was pacified. But I confess I am at a real trouble for fear the rogue should not do his work, and I come to shame and loss of the money I did hope justly to have got by it. Thence walked with Mr. Coventry to St. James's, and there spent the whole morning reading of some old Navy books; wherein the order that was observed in the Navy then, above what it is now, is very observable. We did also talk of a History of the Navy of England, how fit it were to be writ; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the History of the late Dutch war, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius; and, if done well, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, &c., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it.

14th. By coach to Kensington, in the way overtaking Mr. Laxton, the apothecary, with his wife and daughters—very fine young lasses—in a coach; and so both of us to my Lady Sandwich, who hath laid this fortnight here, at Dean Hodges's.<sup>1</sup> Much company came hither today—my Lady Carteret, &c., Sir William Wheeler and his lady, and, above all, Mr. Becke of Chelsea, and wife and daughter, my Lord's mistress, and one that hath not one good feature in her face, and yet is a fine lady, of a fine taille, and very well carriaged and mighty discreet. I took all the occasion I could to discourse with the young ladies in her company to give occasion to her to talk, which now and then she did, and that mighty finely, and is, I perceive, a woman of such an air as I wonder the less at my Lord's favour to her, and I dare warrant him she hath brains enough to entangle him. Two or three hours we were in her company, going into Sir H. Finch's garden,<sup>2</sup> and seeing the fountain, and singing there with the ladies, and a mighty fine cool place it is, with a great laver of water in the middle, and the bravest place for music I ever heard. After much mirth, discoursing to the ladies in defence of the city against the country or Court, and giving them occasion to invite themselves tomorrow to me to dinner to my venison pasty, I got their mother's leave, and so good-night, very well pleased with my day's work, and above all that I have seen my Lord's mistress.

15th. With Captain Witham, the Captain that brought the news of the disaster at Tangier. I got him to tell me the whole story of my Lord Teviot's misfortune; for he was upon the guard with his horse near the town, when at a distance he saw the enemy appear upon a hill, a mile and half off, and made up to them, and with much ado escaped himself; but what became of my Lord he neither knows nor thinks that anybody but the enemy can tell. Our loss was about four hundred. But he tells me that the greater wonder is that my Lord Teviot met no sooner with such a disaster; for every day he did commit himself to more probable danger than this, for now he had the assurance of all his scouts that there was no enemy thereabouts; whereas he used every day to go out with two or three with him, to make his discoveries, in greater danger, and yet the man that could not endure to have anybody

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hodges, vicar of Kensington and rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill. He had been, in September 1661, preferred to the deanery of Hereford, which he held with his two livings till his death, in 1672.

<sup>2</sup> Now Kensington Gardens.

else to go a step out of order to endanger himself. He concludes him to be the man of the hardest fate to lose so much honour at one blow that ever was. His relation being done, he parted; and so I home to look after things for dinner. And anon at noon comes Mr. Creed by chance, and by and by the three young ladies: and very merry we were with our pasty, very well baked; and a good dish of roasted chickens; pease, lobsters, strawberries. And after dinner to cards: and about five o'clock, by water down to Greenwich; and up to the top of the hill, and there played upon the ground at cards. And so to the Cherry Garden, and then by water singing finely to the Bridge, and there landed; and so took boat again, and to Somerset House. And by this time, the tide being against us, it was past ten of the clock; and such a troublesome passage, in regard to my Lady Paulina's fearfulness, that in all my life I never did see any poor wretch in that condition. Being come hither, there waited for them their coach; but, it being so late, I doubted what to do how to get them home. After half an hour's stay in the street I sent my wife home by coach with Mr. Creed's boy: and myself and Creed in the coach home with them. But, Lord! the fear that my Lady Paulina was in every step of the way: and indeed, at this time of the night, it was no safe thing to go that road; so that I was even afraid myself, though I appeared otherwise. We came safe, however, to their house; where we knocked them up, my Lady and all the family being in bed. So put them into doors; and, leaving them with the maids, bade them good-night, and then into the town, Creed and I, it being about twelve o'clock and past: and to several houses [inns], but could get no lodging, all being in bed. At last we found some people drinking and roaring; and, after drinking, got an ill bed.

16th. I lay in my drawers and stockings and waistcoat till five of the clock, and so up; and, being well pleased with our frolic, walked to Knightsbridge, and there eat a mess of cream, and so to St. James's, and I to Whitehall, and took coach, and found my wife well got home last night, and now in bed. The talk upon the 'Change is that De Ruyter is dead, with fifty men of his own ship, of the plague, at Cales [Cadiz]: that the Holland Ambassador here do endeavour to sweeten us with fair words; and things likely to be peaceable. With my cousin Richard Pepys upon the 'Change, about supplying us with bewpers<sup>1</sup> from Norwich, which I should be glad of, if cheap.

<sup>1</sup> A material for flags.



17th. I perceive the corruptions of the Navy are of so many kinds that it is endless to look after them, especially while such a one as Sir W. Batten discourages every man that is honest.

18th. Strange to see how pert Sir W. Pen is to-day newly come from Portsmouth with his head full of great reports of his service and the state of the ships there.

20th. I to the Duke, where we did our usual business. And among other discourse of the Dutch, he was merrily saying how they print that Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord Sandwich, are to be Generals: and soon after is to follow them 'Vieux Pen': and so the Duke called him in mirth Old Pen.<sup>1</sup> They have, it seems, lately wrote to the King, to assure him that their setting out ships was only to defend their fishing trade, and to stay near home—not to annoy the King's subjects; and to desire that he would do the like with his ships: which the King laughs at, but yet is troubled they should think him such a child, to suffer them to bring home their fish and East India Company's ships, and then they will not care for us. Meeting Mr. Pickering, he tells us how my Lady last week went to see Mrs. Becke, the mother; and by and by the daughter came in, but that my Lady do say herself, as he says, that she knew not for what reason, for she never knew they had a daughter, which I do not believe. She was troubled, and her heart did rise as soon as she appeared, and seems the most ugly woman that ever she saw. This, if true, were strange, but I believe it is not. Thence to my Lord's lodging, and were merry with the young ladies, who make a great story of their appearing before their mother the morning after we carried them, the last week, home so late; and that their mother took it very well, at least without any anger. Here I heard how the rich widow, my Lady Gold, is married to one Neale,<sup>2</sup> after he had received a box on the ear by her brother, who was there a sentinel in behalf of some courtier, at the door; but made him draw, and wounded him. She called Neale up to her, and sent for a priest, married presently, and went to bed. The brother sent to the Court, and had a serjeant sent for Neale; but Neale sent for him up to be seen in bed, and she owned him for her husband: and so all is past. It seems Sir H. Bennet did look after her. My Lady very pleasant. After dinner came in Sir Thomas Crewe and Mr. Sidney [Montagu], lately come from France, who is grown a little, and a pretty youth he is, but not so improved as they did give him out to be, but like a

<sup>1</sup> He was only forty-two years of age.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Neale.

child still. But yet I can perceive he hath good parts and good inclinations.

21st. Meeting Mr. Moore, I perceive by him my Lord's business of his family and estate goes very ill, and runs in debt mightily. I would to God I were clear of it, both as to my own money and the bond of £1,000, which I stand debtor for him in, to my cousin Thomas Pepys.

22d. To the 'Change and coffee-house, where great talk of the Dutch preparing of sixty sail of ships. The plague grows mightily among them, both at sea and land.

23d. W. Howe was with me this afternoon to desire some things to be got ready for my Lord against his going down to his ship, which will be soon; for it seems the King and both the Queens intend to visit him. The Lord knows how my Lord will get out of this charge; for Mr. Moore tells me today that he is £10,000 in debt: and this will, with many other things that daily grow upon him, while he minds his pleasure as he do, set him further backward.

24th. Out with Captain Witham to look for oats for Tangier, and among other places to the City granaries, where, it seems, every Company have their granary,<sup>1</sup> and obliged to keep such a quantity of corn always there, or, at a time of scarcity, to issue it at so much a bushel: and a fine thing it is to see their stores of all sorts, for piles for the bridge, and for pipes. To White Hall; and Mr. Pierce showed me the Queen's bed-chamber, and her closet, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures, and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with a clock by her bed-side, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time. Thence with him to the Park, and there met the Queen coming from chapel, with her Maids of Honour all in silver-lace gowns again; which is new to me, and that which I did not think would have been brought up again. Thence he carried me to the King's closet: where such variety of pictures, and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded

<sup>1</sup> From the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII, or perhaps earlier, it was the custom of the City of London to provide against scarcity, by requiring each of the chartered companies to keep in store a certain quantity of corn, which was to be renewed from time to time, and when required for that purpose produced in the market for sale, at such times and prices, and in such quantities, as the Lord Mayor or Common Council should direct; see the report of a case in the Court of Chancery, 'Attorney-General v. Haberdashers' Company' (Mylne and Keen's *Reports*, vol. i, p. 420).

and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them; which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me.

26th. (Lord's day.) At my Lord Sandwich's; where his little daughter, my Lady Katherine, was brought, who is lately come from my father's at Brampton, to have her cheek looked after, which is and hath long been sore. But my Lord will rather have it be as it is, with a scar in her face, than endanger it being worse by tampering. I went home, and with Creed called at several churches, which, God knows, are supplied with very young men, and the churches very empty; and at our own church looked in, and there heard one preach whom Sir W. Pen brought, which he desired us yesterday to hear, that had been his chaplain in Ireland: a very silly fellow. After dinner, a frolic took us, we would this afternoon to the Hope; so my wife dressed herself, and, with good victuals and drink, we took boat presently, and the tide with us, got down, but it was night, and the tide spent by the time we got to Gravesend: so there we stopped, but went not on shore, only Creed, to get some cherries and send a letter to the Hope, where the fleet lies. And so, it being rainy, and thundering mightily, and lightning, we returned with great pleasure home about twelve o'clock—Creed telling pretty stories in the boat. He lay with me all night.

27th. To Paul's Church-yard, and there saw Sir Harry Spelman's book,<sup>1</sup> and I bespoke it and others.

28th. Put on a half shirt first this summer, it being very hot, and yet so ill-tempered I am grown, that I am afraid I shall catch cold, while all the world is ready to melt away. To the Mitre, and there comes Dr. Burnett to us; and there I begun to have his advice about my disease, and then invited him to my house; and I am resolved to put myself into his hands.

29th. Mr. Shepley tells me how my brave dog I did give him, going out betimes one morning, to Huntingdon, was set upon by five other dogs, and worried to pieces, of which I am a little, and he the most sorry I ever saw man for such a thing. To Westminster, to see Dean Honiwood, whom I had not visited a great while. He is a good-natured, but a very weak man, yet a Dean, and a man in great esteem. To my Lord Sandwich's and there dined. My Lady and I sat two hours alone, talking of the condition of her family's being greatly in debt, and many children now

<sup>1</sup> *Glossarium Archaeologicum.*

July 1664

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

coming up to provide for. I did give her my sense very plain of it, which she took well, and carried further than myself, to the bemoaning their condition, and remembering how finely things were ordered about six years ago, when I lived there, and my Lord at sea every year.

30th. By water to Woolwich, and walked back from Woolwich to Greenwich all alone, save a man that had a cudgel in his hand, and, though he told me he laboured in the King's yard, and many other good arguments that he is an honest man, yet, God forgive me! I did doubt he might knock me on the head behind with his club. But I got safe home. Then to the making up my month's accounts and find myself still a gainer and rose to £951, for which God be blessed. Great doubts yet whether the Dutch war go on or no. The fleet ready in the Hope, of twelve sail. The King and Queens go on board, they say, on Saturday next. Young children of my Lord Sandwich gone with their maids from my mother's, which troubles me—it being, I hear, from Mr. Shepley, with great discontent, saying that, though they buy good meat, yet can never have it before it stinks, which I am ashamed of.

July 1st. By and by comes Dr. Burnett, who did write me down some direction what to do, but not with the satisfaction I expected. I did give him a piece, with good hopes, however, that his advice will be of use to me. Upon the 'Change, this day, I saw how uncertain the temper of the people is, that, from our discharging of about 200 that lay idle, having nothing to do, upon some of our ships, which were ordered to be fitted for service, and their works are now done, the town do talk that the King discharges all his men—200 yesterday, and 800 to-day—and that now he hath got £100,000 in his hand, he values not a Dutch war. But I undeceived a great many, telling them how it is.

2nd. Home to my venison pasty, but only Mr. Alsopp and Mr. Lanyon, whom I invited last night. After dinner sat close to discourse about our business of the victualling of the garrison of Tangier, taking their prices of all provisions; and I do hope to order it so that they and I also may get something by it.

3d. (Lord's day.) At noon, to dinner, where the remains of yesterday's venison, and a couple of brave green geese, which we are fain to eat alone because they will not keep, which troubled us. Thundering and lightening all the evening, and this year have had the most thunder and lightning, they say, of any in

man's memory, and so it is, it seems, in France, and everywhere else.

4th. At noon to my Lord Crewe's, and there dined. After dinner I walked homeward, and at home found my wife of her own accord to have lain out 25s. upon a pair of pendants for her ears, which did vex me and brought both me and her to very high and very foul words from her, such as trouble me to think she should have in her mouth, and reflecting upon our old differences, which I hate to have remembered. I vowed to break them, or that she should go and get what she could for them again. I went with that resolution out of doors; the poor wretch afterwards in a little while did send out to change them for her money again. I followed Bess, her messenger, at the 'Change, and there did consult and sent her back; I would not have them changed, being satisfied that she yielded. So went home, and friends again as to that business; but the words I could not get out of my mind. This day the King and the Queen went to visit my Lord Sandwich and the fleet, going forth in the *Hope*.

6th. Up very betimes, and my wife also, and got us ready; and, about eight o'clock, having got some bottles of wine and beer, and neat's tongues, we went to our barge at the Tower, where Mr. Pierce and his wife, and a kinswoman and his sister, and Mrs. Clerke and her sister and cousin, were to expect us; and so set out for the *Hope*, all the way down playing at cards and other sports, spending our time pretty merry. Come to the *Hope* about one, and there showed them all the ships, and had a collation of anchovies, gammon, &c., and, after an hour's stay or more, embarked again for home; and so to cards and other sports till we came to Greenwich, and there Mrs. Clerke and my wife and I on shore, to an alehouse, and so to the barge again, having shown them the King's pleasure-boat: and so home to the Bridge, bringing night home with us; so to the Tower wharf, and home, being very well pleased today with the company, especially Mrs. Pierce, who continues her complexion as well as ever, and hath at this day, I think, the best complexion that ever I saw on any woman, young or old, or child either, all days of my life. Also, Mrs. Clerke's kinswoman sings very prettily, but is very confident in it; Mrs. Clerke herself witty, but spoils all in being so conceited, and making so great a flutter with a few fine clothes and some bad tawdry things worn with them. But the charge of the barge lies heavy upon me, which trouble me, but it is but once, and I may make Pierce do me

some courtesy as great. The reason of Dr. Clerke's not being here was, the King being sick last night, and let blood, and so he durst not come away today.

7th. To White Hall, and there found the Duke and twenty more reading their commission (of which I am, and was also sent to, to come) for the Royal Fishery, which is very large, and a very serious charter it is; but the Company generally so ill fitted for so serious a work, that I do much fear it will come to little. Home, calling for my new books, viz., Sir H. Spelman's whole Glossary, Scapula's Lexicon, and Shakespeare's plays, which I have got money out of my stationer's bills to pay for. The King is pretty well, today.

8th. To the binder's, and directed the doing of my Chaucer, though they were not full neat enough for me, but pretty well it is; and thence to the clasp-maker's, to have it clasped and bossed.

9th. To a Committee for Fishing; but the first thing was swearing to be true to the Company; and we were all sworn, but a great dispute we had, which, methought, is very ominous to the Company—some, that we should swear to be true to the best of our power; and others, to the best of our understanding:—and carried in the last, though in that we are the least able to serve the Company, because we would not be obliged to attend the business when we can, but when we list.

10th. (Lord's day.) Up, and by water, towards noon, to Somerset House, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's, and there dined with my Lady and the children. After dinner, took our leaves, and my wife hers, in order to her going to the country tomorrow. My Lady showed us my Lady Castlemaine's picture, finely done, given my Lord; and a most beautiful picture it is. Thence with my Lady Jemimah, and Mr. Sidney to St. Giles's church, and there heard a long, poor sermon. Thence set them down, and in their coach to Kate Joyce's christening, where much company and good service of sweetmeats; and, after an hour's stay, left them, and in my Lord's coach—his noble, rich coach—home.

11th. Betimes up this morning, and, getting ready, we by coach to Holborn, where, at nine o'clock, they set out, and I and my man Will on horseback by my wife to Barnet; a very pleasant day; and there dined with her company, which was very good—a pretty gentlewoman with her, that goes but to Huntingdon, and a neighbour to us in town. Here we stayed two hours, and then parted

for altogether, and my poor wife I shall soon want, I am sure. Thence I and Will to see the Wells,<sup>1</sup> half a mile off, and there I drank three glasses, and walked, and come back and drunk two more: and so we rode home, round by Kingsland, Hackney, and Mile End, till we were quite weary; and, not being very well, I betimes to bed.

About eleven o'clock, knowing what money I have in the house, and hearing a noise, I begun to sweat worse and worse, till I melted almost to water. I rung, and could not in half an hour make either of the wenches hear me; and this made me fear the more, lest they might be gagged; and then I begun to think that there was some design in a stone being flung at the window over our stairs this evening, by which the thieves meant to try what looking there would be after them, and know our company. These thoughts and fears I had, and do hence apprehend the fears of all rich men that are covetous and have much money by them. At last Jane rose, and then I understand it was only the dog wants a lodging, and so made a noise.

12th. Called up by my Lord Peterborough's gentleman, about getting his Lord's money today of Mr. Povy, wherein I took such order, that it was paid, and I had my £50 brought me, which comforts my heart. Dined alone; sad for want of company, and not being very well, and know not how to eat alone.

14th. I rose a little after four o'clock, and abroad. Walked to my Lord's, and nobody up, but the porter rose out of bed to me: so I back again to Fleet Street, and there bought a little book of law; and thence, hearing a psalm sung, I went into St. Dunstan's, and there heard prayers read, which, it seems, is done there every morning at six o'clock; a thing I never did do at a chapel, but the College chapel, in all my life. Thence to my Lord's again, and my Lord being up, was sent for up, and he and I alone. He did begin with a most solemn profession of the same confidence in and love for me that he ever had, and then told me what a misfortune was fallen upon me and him: on me, by a displeasure which my Lord Chancellor did show to him last night against me, in the highest and most passionate manner that ever any man did speak, even to the not hearing of anything to be said to him. But he told me that he did say all that could be said for a man as to my faithfulness and duty to his Lordship, and did me the greatest right imaginable. And what should the business be, but that I should

<sup>1</sup> The mineral spring at East Barnet.

be forward to have the trees in Clarendon Park<sup>1</sup> marked and cut down, which he, it seems, hath bought of my Lord Albemarle; when, God knows! I am the most innocent man in the world in it, and did nothing of myself, nor knew of his concernment therein, but barely obeyed my Lord Treasurer's warrant for the doing thereof. And said that I did most ungentlemanlike with him, and had justified the rogues in cutting down a tree of his; and that I had sent the veriest Fanatic [Deane] that is in England to mark them, on purpose to nose him. All which, I did assure my Lord, was most properly false, and nothing like it true; and told my Lord the whole passage. My Lord do seem most nearly affected; he is partly, I believe, for me, and partly for himself. So he advised me to wait presently upon my Lord, and clear myself in the most perfect manner I could, with all submission and assurance that I am his creature both in this and all other things; and that I do own that all I have is derived through my Lord Sandwich from his Lordship. So, full of horror, I went, and found him busy in trials of law in his great room; and, it being Sitting-day, durst not stay, but went to my Lord and told him so: whereupon he directed me to take him after dinner; and so away I home, leaving my Lord mightily concerned for me. So I to my Lord Chancellor's; and there, coming out after dinner, I accosted him, telling him that I was the unhappy Pepys that had fallen into his high displeasure, and come to desire him to give me leave to make myself better understood to his Lordship, assuring him of my duty and service. He answered me very pleasingly, that he was confident upon the score of my Lord Sandwich's character of me, but that he had reason to think what he did, and desired me to call upon him some evening; I named tonight, and he accepted of it. To my Lord Chancellor's, and there heard several trials, wherein I perceive my Lord is a most able and ready man. After all done, he himself called, 'Come, Mr. Pepys, you and I will take a turn in the garden.' So he was led down stairs, having the gout, and there walked with me, I think, above an hour, talking most friendly, yet cunningly. I told him clearly how things were; how ignorant I was of his Lordship's concernment in it; how I did not do, nor say, one word singly, but what was done was the act of the whole Board. He

<sup>1</sup> Near Salisbury, granted by Edward VI to Sir W. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, for two lives, which lease determined in 1661 when it reverted to the Crown, and was conferred on the Duke of Albemarle, whose family got the estate after Lord Clarendon's fall.



told me by name that he was more angry with Sir G. Carteret than with me, and also with the whole body of the Board. But, thinking who it was of the Board that did know him least, he did place his fear upon me; but he finds that he is indebted to none of his friends there. I think I did thoroughly appease him, till he thanked me for my desire and pains to satisfy him; and, upon my desiring to be directed who I should of his servants advise with about this business, he told me nobody, but would be glad to hear from me himself. He told me he would not direct me in anything, that it might not be said that the Lord Chancellor did labour to abuse the King; or, as I offered, direct the suspending the Report of the Purveyors: but I see what he means, and will make it my work to do him service in it. But, Lord! to see how he is incensed against poor Deane, as a fanatic rogue, and I know not what: and what he did was done in spite to his Lordship among all his friends and tenants. He did plainly say that he would not direct me in anything, for he would not put himself into the power of any man to say that he did so and so; but plainly told me, as if he would be glad I did something. Lord! to see how we poor wretches dare not do the King good service for fear of the greatness of these men. He named Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes and the rest; and that he was as angry with them all as me. But it was pleasant to think that, while he was talking to me, comes into the garden Sir G. Carteret; and my Lord avoided speaking with him, and made him and many others stay expecting him, while I walked up and down above an hour, I think; and would have me walk with my hat on. And yet, after all, there has been so little ground for his jealousy of me, that I am sometimes afraid that he do this only in policy to bring me to his side by scaring me; or else, which is worse, to try how faithful I would be to the King: but I rather think the former of the two. I parted with great assurance how I acknowledged all I had to come from his Lordship; which he did not seem to refuse, but with great kindness and respect parted.

15th. Up, and to my Lord Sandwich's; where he sent for me up, and I did give my Lord an account of what had passed with my Lord Chancellor yesterday: for which he was pleased, and advised me by all means to study in the best manner I could to serve him in this business. After this discourse ended, he begun to tell me that he had now pitched upon his day of going to sea upon Monday next, and that he would now give me an account how matters are with him. He told me that his work now in the world

*July 1664*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

is only to keep up his interest at Court, having little hopes to get more considerably, he saying that he hath now about £8,000 per annum. It is true, he says, he oweth about £10,000; but he hath been at great charges in getting things to this pass in his estate, besides his building and good goods that he hath bought. He says that he hath now evened his reckonings at the Wardrobe till Michaelmas last, and hopes to finish it to Lady-day before he goes. He says now there is due, too, £7,000 to him there, if he knew how to get paid, besides £2,000 that Mr. Montagu do owe him. As to his interest, he says that he hath had all the injury done him that ever man could have by another bosom friend that knows all his secrets, by Mr. Montagu; but he says that the worst of it all is past, and he gone out and hated, his very person by the King, and he believes the more upon the score of his carriage to him; nay, that the Duke of York did say a little while since in his closet, that he did hate him because of his ungrateful carriage to my Lord of Sandwich. He says that he is as great with the Chancellor, or greater, than ever in his life. That with the King he is the like; and told me an instance, that whereas he formerly was of the private council to the King before he was last sick, and that by the sickness an interruption was made in his attendance upon him; the King did not constantly call him, as he used to do, to his private council, only in businesses of the sea, and the like; but of late the King did send a message to him by Sir Harry Bennet, to excuse the King to my Lord that he had not of late sent for him as he used to do to his private council, for it was not out of any distaste, but to avoid giving offence to some others whom he did not name; but my Lord supposes it might be Prince Rupert, or it may be only that the King would rather pass it by an excuse than be thought unkind: but that now he did desire him to attend him constantly, which of late he hath done, and the King never more kind to him in his life than now. The Duke of York, as much as is possible; and in the business of late, when I was to speak to my Lord about his going to sea, he says that he finds the Duke did it with the greatest ingenuity and love in the world; 'and whereas,' says my Lord, 'here is a wise man hard by that thinks himself so, and, it may be, is in a degree so (naming by and by my Lord Crewe), would have had me condition with him that neither Prince Rupert nor anybody should come over his head, and I know not what.' The Duke himself hath caused, in his commission, that he be made Admiral of this and what other ships or fleets shall

at the Temple, and there he took final leave of me, in order to his following my Lord tomorrow. I to my Lord Chancellor, and discoursed his business with him. I perceive, and he says plainly, that he will not have any man to have it in his power to say that my Lord Chancellor did contrive the wronging the King of his timber; but yet, I perceive, he would be glad to have service done him therein; and told me Sir G. Carteret hath told him that he and I would look after his business, to see it done in the best manner for him.

19th. After dinner Sir Batten and I down by water to Woolwich, where coming to the rope-yard we are told that Mr. Falconer, who hath been ill of a relapse these two days, is just now dead. We went up to his widow, who is sick in bed also. The poor woman in great sorrow, and entreats our friendship, which we shall, I think, in everything do for her. I am sure I will.

20th. With Mr. Deane, discoursing upon the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber in Clarendon Park, and how to make a report therein without offending him; which at last I drew up, and hope it will please him. But I would to God neither I nor he ever had had anything to have done with it! To White Hall, to the Committee for Fishing; but nothing done, it being a great day today there upon drawing at the Lottery of Sir Arthur Slingsby. I got in, and stood by the two Queens and the Duchess of York, and just behind my Lady Castlemaine, whom I do heartily adore; and good sport it was to see how most that did give their ten pounds did go away with a pair of globes only for their lot, and one gentlewoman, one Mrs. Fish, with the only blank. And one I stayed to see draw a suit of hangings valued at £430, and they say are well worth the money, or near it. One other suit there is better than that; but very many lots of three or fourscore pounds. I observed the King and Queen did get but as poor lots as any else. But the wisest man I met with was Mr. Cholmely, who insured as many as would, from drawing of the one blank for 12*d.*; in which case there was the whole number of persons to one, which, I think, was three or four hundred. And so he insured about 200 for 200 shillings, so that he could not have lost if one of them had drawn it; for there was enough to pay the £10; but it happened another drew it, and so he got all the money he took. I left the lottery, and went to a play—only a piece of it—which was at the Duke's House, 'Worse and Worse,'<sup>1</sup> just the same manner of play, and writ,

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by G. Digby, Earl of Bristol.

I believe, by the same man as 'The Adventures of Five Hours';<sup>1</sup> very pleasant it was, and I begin to admire Harris more than ever.<sup>2</sup>

21st. To the office, among others making a contract with Sir W. Warren for almost 1000 Gothenburg masts, the biggest that ever were made in the Navy, and wholly of my compassing. This morning to the office comes Nicholas Osborne, Mr. Gauden's clerk, to desire of me what piece of plate I would choose to have of £100, or thereabouts, bestowed upon me in, he having order to lay out so much; and, out of his freedom with me, do of himself come to make this question. I a great while urged my unwillingness to take any, not knowing how I could serve Mr. Gauden, but left it wholly to himself. So at noon I find brought home in fine leather cases a pair of the noblest flagons that ever I saw all the days of my life; whether I shall keep them or no I cannot tell, for it is to oblige me to him in the business of the Tangier victualling, wherein I doubt I shall not: but glad I am to see that I shall be sure to get something on one side or other, have it which will. So, with a merry heart, I looked upon them, and locked them up. After dinner to give my Lord Chancellor a good account of his business, and he is very well pleased therewith, and carries himself with great discretion to me, without seeming over glad or beholding to me; and yet I know that he do think himself very well served by me.

22d. To Deptford, where, coming too soon, I spent an hour in looking round the yard and putting Mr. Shish<sup>3</sup> to measure a piece or two of timber, which he did most cruelly wrong, and to the King's loss, 12 or 13s. in a piece of 28 feet in contents. Thence to the Clerk of the Cheques, from whose house Mr. Falconer was buried today—Sir J. Minnes and I the only principal officers that were there. We walked to church with him, and then I left them without staying the sermon, and straight home; and there find, as I expected, Mr. Hill and Andrews and one slovenly and ugly fellow, Signor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to the theorbo most neatly; and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of music counted of all hands in the world, made by Signor Charissimi,<sup>4</sup> the famous master in Rome. Fine it was indeed, and too fine for me to judge of. They have spoke to Pedro to meet us

<sup>1</sup> Sir Samuel Tuke.

<sup>2</sup> He played Don Antonio, 'a soldier haughty and of exact honour.'

<sup>3</sup> Jonas Shish, master shipwright at Deptford.

<sup>4</sup> Giacomo Carissimi, *maestro di cappella* of St. Apollinare, in the German college at Rome, one of the most excellent of the Italian musicians. He composed much and died very rich aged 69.

every week, and I fear it will grow a trouble to me if we once come to bid judges to meet us, especially idle masters, which do a little displease me to consider. They gone, comes Mr. Lanyon, who tells me Mr. Alsopp is now become dangerously ill, and fears his recovery, which shakes my expectation of £300 per annum by the business; and therefore bless God for what Mr. Gauden hath sent me, which, from some discourse today with Mr. Osborne swearing that he knows not anything of this business of the vic-tualling but, the contrary, that it is not that that moves Mr. Gauden to me, for he hath had order for it any time these two months. Whether this be true or not, I know not; but I shall hence with the more confidence keep it.

23d. I took occasion to break the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber to Mr. Coventry in the best manner I could. He professed to me that, till Sir G. Carteret did speak of it at the table after our officers were gone to survey it, he did not know that my Lord Chancellor had anything to do with it; but now he says that he had been told by the Duke that Sir G. Carteret had spoke to him about it, and that he had told the Duke that, were he in my Lord Chancellor's case, if he were his father, he would rather fling away the gains of two or £3,000 than have it said that the timber, which should have been the King's if it had continued the Duke of Albemarle's, was concealed by us in favour of my Lord Chancellor; for, says he, he is a great man, and all such as he, and he himself particularly, have a great many enemies that would be very glad of such an advantage against him; and that he would speak to the Duke, that he and Sir G. Carteret might be appointed to attend my Lord Chancellor in it. All this disturbs me mightily. I know not what to say to it, nor how to carry myself therein; for a compliance will discommend me to Mr. Coventry, and a discompliance to my Lord Chancellor. But I think to let it alone, or at least meddle in it as little more as I can.

25th. Met with a printed copy of the King's commission for the repair of Paul's, which is very large, and large power for collecting money, and recovering of all people that had bought or sold formerly anything belonging to the church. And here I find my Lord Mayor of the City set in order before the Archbishop or any nobleman, though all the greatest officers of state are there. But yet I do not hear, by my Lord Berkeley, who is one of them, that anything is like to come of it. No news, only the plague is very hot still, and increases among the Dutch.

26th. To Anthony Joyce's, to our gossips' dinner. I had sent a dozen and half of bottles of wine thither, and paid my double share besides, which is 18s. Very merry, all, as much as I could be in such sorry company. Great discourse of the fray yesterday in Moorfields, how the butchers at first did beat the weavers, between whom there hath been ever an old competition for mastery, but at last the weavers rallied and beat them. At first the butchers knocked down all for weavers that had green or blue aprons, till they were fain to pull them off and put them in their breeches. At last the butchers were fain to pull off their sleeves, that they might not be known, and were soundly beaten out of the field, and some deeply wounded and bruised; till at last the weavers went out triumphing, calling £100 for a butcher.

27th. To White Hall, where anon the Duke of York came, and a Committee we had of Tangier, where I read over my rough draft of the contract for Tangier victualling, and acquainted them with the death of Mr. Alsopp, which Mr. Lanyon had told me this morning, which is a sad consideration to see how uncertain a thing our lives are, and how little to be presumed of in our greatest undertakings. This afternoon came my great store of coals in, being 10 chaldron, so that I may see how long they will last me.

28th. Dined at home, and then abroad, and seeing 'The Bond-man' upon the posts, I went thither and saw it acted. It is true, for want of practice, they had many of them forgot their parts a little; but Betterton and my poor Ianthe [Mrs. Betterton] outdo all the world. There is nothing more taking in the world with me than that play. All our discourse is of a Dutch war, and I find it is likely to come to it. I am overjoyed in hopes that, upon this month's account, I shall find myself worth £1000, besides the rich present of two silver and gilt flagons, which Mr. Gauden did give me the other day. My Lord Sandwich newly gone to sea; and he did, before his going, and by his letter since, show me all manner of respect and confidence.

29th. Mr. Hill, Andrews, and Signor Pedro came, and great store of music we had; but I begin to be weary of having a master with us, for it spoils, methinks, the ingenuity of our practice.

30th. To the 'Change, where great talk of a rich present brought by an East India ship from some of the Princes of India, worth to the King £70,000, in two precious stones. This afternoon, with great content, I finished the contract for victualling of Tangier

with Mr. Lanyon and the rest; and, to my comfort, got him and Andrews to sign to the giving me £300 per annum.

31st. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where I have not been these many weeks. In the evening to my accounts, and to my great joy and with great thanks to Almighty God I do find myself most clearly worth £1,014, which is the height of all that ever I have for a long time pretended to. To bed, discoursing God to give me the grace to make good use of what I have and continue my care and diligence to gain more.

August 1st. To the coffee-house, and there all the house full of the victory General Soushe<sup>1</sup> (who is a Frenchman, a soldier of fortune, commanding part of the German army) hath had against the Turk; killing 4000 men, and taking most extraordinary spoil. Thence taking up Harman and his wife, carried them to Anthony Joyce's, where we had my venison in a pasty well done; but, Lord! to see how much they made of it, as if they had never eat any before; and very merry we were. Mrs. Harman is a very pretty-humoured wretch, whom I could love with all heart, being so good and innocent company. Last night, at twelve o'clock, I was waked with knocking at Sir W. Pen's door; and what was it but people's running up and down, to bring him word that his brother,<sup>2</sup> who hath been a good while, it seems, sick, is dead.

2d. To the King's playhouse, and there saw 'Bartholomew Fair,' which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a nursery [for actors]; that is, is going to build a house in Moorfields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best music, and everything as magnificent as is in Christendom; and to that end, hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough. So to Sir W. Pen, and with him and our fellow officers and servants of the house, and none else, to church to lay his brother in the ground, wherein nothing handsome at all, but that he lays him under the communion table in the chancel, about nine at night.

<sup>1</sup> General Soushe was Louis Raduit, Comte de Souches. The battle was fought at Lewentz, in Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> George Penn, a merchant of San Lucar. He had been banished from Spain by the Inquisition.

4th. Dined with Sir W. Pen, and out with him by his coach; and he did carry me to a play and pay for me at the King's House, 'The Rival Ladies,'<sup>1</sup> a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and, it being given me, I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was, the last night, going out of town after he had acted the Alchemist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts, to his country-house, set upon and murdered; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow. It seems most cruelly butchered and bound. The House will have a great miss of him. Thence visited my Lady Sandwich, who tells me my Lord FitzHarding is to be made a Marquis.

5th. About ten o'clock I dressed myself, and so mounted upon a very pretty mare sent me by Sir W. Warren according to his promise yesterday. And so through the City, not a little proud, God knows, to be seen upon so pretty a beast, and to my cousin W. Joyce's, who presently mounted too, and he and I out of town toward Highgate; in the way, at Kentish Town, he showing me the place and manner of Clun's being killed and laid in a ditch, and yet was not killed by any wounds, having only one in his arm, but bled to death through his struggling. He told me, also, the manner of it, of his going home so late from drinking with his mistress, and manner of having it found out. Thence forward to Barnet, and so by night to Stevenage, it raining a little, and there, to my great trouble, find that my wife was not come, nor any Stamford coach gone down this week, so that she cannot come. To bed, and after a little sleep W. Joyce comes in his shirt into my chamber with a note, and a messenger from my wife, that she was come by York coach to Bigglesworth, and would be with us tomorrow morning. So, mightily pleased at her discreet action in this business, I with peace to sleep again.

6th. Here lay Dean Honiwood last night. I met and talked with him this morning, and a simple priest he is, though a good, well-meaning man. W. Joyce and I to a game at bowls on the green there till eight o'clock, and then comes my wife and a coach full of women, only one man riding by. Very joyful, and mounted, and away with them to Welwyn, and there 'light, and dined very well and merry, and glad to see my poor wife. After dinner, out again, and to London, all the way the mightiest merry at a couple of young gentlemen, come down to meet the same

<sup>1</sup> A tragedy by Dryden.



gentlewoman, that ever I was in my life, and so W. Joyce, too, to see how one of them was horsed upon a hard-trotting sorrel horse, and both of them soundly weary and galled. But it is not to be set down how merry we were all the way. We 'light in Holborn, and by another coach my wife and maid home, and I by horseback, and found all things well, and most mighty neat and clean.

7th. (Lord's day.) Lay long caressing my wife and talking, she telling me sad stories of the ill, improvident, disquiet, and sluttish manner that my father and mother and Pall do live in the country, which troubles me mightily, and I must seek to remedy it. Showed my wife, to her great admiration and joy, Mr. Gauden's present of plate, the two flagons, which indeed are so noble that I hardly can think that they are yet mine. So down to dinner, and I then to White Hall and met with Mr. Spong. While we were talking, came by several poor creatures carried by constables for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise and not be caught!

8th. After dinner to hang up my fine pictures in my dining-room, which makes it very pretty; and so my wife and I abroad to the King's playhouse. Here we saw 'Flora's Figaries.'<sup>1</sup> I never saw it before; and, by the most ingenuous performance of the young jade Flora, it seemed as pretty a pleasant play as ever I saw in my life.

9th. This day comes the news that the Emperor hath beat the Turk;<sup>2</sup> killed the Grand Vizier and several great Bashas, with an army of 80,000 men killed and routed; with some considerable loss of his own side, having lost three generals, and the French forces all cut off almost;<sup>3</sup> which is thought as good a service to the Emperor as beating the Turk almost.

<sup>1</sup> *Flora's Vagaries*, a comedy by Richard Rhodes, first acted by the students at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1663. Sir Henry Herbert records its performance in London, on the 3rd November 1663. Flora was afterwards played by Nell Gwynn.

<sup>2</sup> This was the battle of St. Gothard, in which the Turks were defeated with great slaughter by the Imperial forces under Montecucculi, assisted by the confederates from the Rhine, and by forty troops of French cavalry under Coligny. St. Gothard is in Hungary, on the river Raab, near the frontier of Styria: it is about 120 miles south of Vienna, and 30 east of Graz. The battle took place on the 9th Muharram, A.H. 1075, or 23rd July A.D. 1664, old style, which is that used by Pepys.

<sup>3</sup> The fact is, the Germans were beaten by the Turks, and the French won the battle for them.

10th. Abroad to find out one to engrave my tables upon my new sliding rule with silver plates, it being so small that Browne, that made it, cannot get one to do it. So I got Cocker,<sup>1</sup> the famous writing-master, to do it, and I set an hour by him to see him design it all; and strange it is to see him, with his natural eyes, to cut so small at his first designing it, and read it all over, without any missing, when for my life I could not, with my best skill, read one word or letter of it; but it is use. He says that the best light for his life to do a very small thing by, contrary to Chaucer's words to the Sun, that he should lend his light to 'them that small seals grave,'<sup>2</sup> it should be by an artificial light of a candle, set to advantage, as he could do it. I find the fellow, by his discourse, very ingenuous: and, among other things, a great admirer of, and well read in, the English poets, and undertakes to judge of them all, and that not impertinently. After dinner Deane and I had great discourse again about my Lord Chancellor's timber, out of which I wish I may get well.

11th. Comes Cocker, with my rule, which he hath engraved to admiration for goodness and smallness of work: it cost me 14s. the doing, and mighty pleased I am with it. This day, for a wager before the King, my Lords of Castlehaven and Arran, a son of my Lord of Ormond's, they two alone did run down and kill a stout buck in St. James's Park.

12th. To White Hall, and did much business at a Tangier Committee; where, among other things, speaking about property of the houses there, and how we ought to let the Portugese have right done them, as many of them as continue or did sell the houses while they were in possession, and something further in their favour, the Duke, after an anger I never observed in him before, did cry, says he, 'All the world rides us, and I think we shall never ride anybody.'

13th. Comes Mr. Reeve with a microscope and scotoscope. For the first I did give him £5 10s., a great price, but a most curious bauble it is, and, he says, as good, nay, the best he knows in England, and he makes the best in the world. The other he gives me, and is of value; and a curious curiosity it is to discover objects in a dark room with. Mr. Creed dining with me, I got him to give my wife and me a play this afternoon, lending him money to do it, which is a fallacy that I have found now once, to avoid my vow

<sup>1</sup> Edward Cocker, the well-known arithmetician: *ob.* 1675.

<sup>2</sup> The words are in *Troilus and Criseyde* book iii, line 1462.

with, but never to be more practised, I swear. To the new play, at the Duke's House of 'Henry the Fifth,' a most noble play: writ by my Lord Orrery; wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe's parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense that ever I heard. Thence home to read a little in Dr. Power's book of discovery by the microscope to enable me a little how to use and what to expect of my glass.

14th. (Lord's day.) Comes Mr. Herbert, Mr. Honiwood's man, and dined with me—a very honest, plain, and well-meaning man, I think him to be; and, by his discourse and manner of life, the true emblem of an old ordinary serving-man. By and by comes W. Joyce in his silk suit and cloak lined with velvet: stayed talking with me, and I very merry at it. He supped with me; but a cunning, crafty fellow he is, and dangerous to displease, for his tongue spares nobody.

15th. With Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, and there the Duke tells us more and more signs of a Dutch war, and how we must presently set out a fleet for Guinea, for the Dutch are doing so, and there I believe the war will begin. Thence home with him again, on our way he talking of his cures abroad, while he was with the King as a doctor. And among others, Sir J. Denham, he told me, he had cured to a miracle. At Charing Cross, and there saw the great Dutchman that is come over, under whose arm I went with my hat on, and could not reach higher than his eyebrows with the tip of my fingers. He is a comely and well made man, and his wife a very little but pretty comely Dutch woman. It is true, he wears pretty high-heeled shoes, but not very high, and do generally wear a turban, which makes him show yet taller than really he is.

16th. Wakened about two o'clock this morning with a noise of thunder, which lasted for an hour, with such continued lightnings—not flashes, but flames—that all the sky and air was light; and that for a great while, not a minute's space between new flames all the time: such a thing as I never did see, nor could have believed had even been in nature. And being put into a great sweat with it, could not sleep till all was over. And that accompanied with such a storm of rain as I never heard in my life. I expected to find my house in the morning overflowed; but I find not one drop of rain in my house, nor any news of hurt done.

17th. Sir W. Batten did give me three bottles of his Epsom

water, which I drank, and it wrought well with me, and I found myself mightily cooled with them and refreshed. With Sir Thomas Crewe, who told me how Mr. Edward Montagu is for ever blown up, and now quite out with his father again; to whom he pretended that his going down was, not that he was cast out of the Court, but that he had leave to be absent a month; but now he finds the truth. Mr. Pierce tells me the King do still sup every night with my Lady Castlemaine.

18th. Dined alone at home, my wife going today to dine with Mrs. Pierce, and thence with her and Mrs. Clerke to see a new play, 'The Court Secret.'<sup>1</sup> My wife says the play is the worst that ever she saw in her life.

19th. To Sir W. Pen's, to see his lady<sup>2</sup> the first time, who is a well-looking, fat, short, old Dutchwoman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and is now very discreet, and I believe hath more wit than her husband. Here we stayed talking a good while, and very well pleased I was with the old woman at first visit. Creed came to me, and he and I out, among other things, to look out a man to make me a case for to keep my stone, that I was cut of, in. Home to supper to a good dish of fritters which I bespoke, and were done much to my mind. The news of the Emperor's victory over the Turks is by some doubted, but by most confessed to be very small, though great, of what was talked, which was 80,000 men to be killed and taken of the Turk's side.

20th. I walked to Cheapside, to see the effect of a fire there this morning, since four o'clock; which I find in the house of Mr. Bois, that married Doctor Fuller's niece, who are both out of town, leaving only a maid and man in town. It begun in their house, and hath burned much and many houses backward, though none forward; and that in the great uniform pile of buildings in the middle of Cheapside. I am very sorry for them, for the Doctor's sake. Thence to the 'Change, and so home to dinner. And thence to Sir W. Batten's, whither Sir Richard Ford came, the Sheriff, who hath been at this fire all the while; and he tells me, upon my question, that he and the Mayor were there, as it is their duties to be, not only to keep the peace, but they have power of commanding the pulling down of any house or houses, to defend the whole City. By and by comes in the Common Crier of the

<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy, by James Shirley, 'written when the stage was interdicted,' and first performed after the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, a merchant at Rotterdam.

City to speak with him; and when he was gone, says he, 'You may see by this man the constitution of the Magistracy of this City; that this fellow's place, I dare give him, if he will be true to me, £1,000 for his profits every year, and expect to get £500 more to myself thereby, when,' says he, 'I in myself am forced to spend many times as much.'

21st. (Lord's day.) Mr. Coventry told us the Duke was gone ill of a fit of an ague to bed: so we sent this morning to see how he do.

23d. Lay long talking with my wife, and angry awhile about her desiring to have a French maid all of a sudden, which I took to arise from yesterday's being with her mother. But that went over and friends again, and so she be well qualited, I care not much whether she be French or no, so a Protestant. I went into New Bridewell, in my way to Mr. Cole, and there I saw the new model, and it is very handsome: several at work—among others, one pretty strumpet brought in last night, which works very lazily. I did give them 6d. to drink. The Dutch East India Fleet are now come home safe, which we are sorry for. Our fleets on both sides are hastening out to Guinea.

24th. To the Wardrobe, and there saw one suit of clothes made for my boy, and linen set out, and I think to have him the latter end of this week.

25th. Jack Noble came to me to tell me that he had Cave in prison, and that he would give me and my father good security that neither we nor any of our family should be troubled with the child; for he could prove that he was fully satisfied for him; and that, if the worst came to the worst, the parish must keep it; that Cave did bring the child to his house, but they got it carried back again, and that thereupon he put him in prison. When he saw that I would not pay him the money, nor made anything of being secured against the child, he then said that then he must go to law, not himself, but come in as a witness for Cave against us. I could have told him that he could bear witness that Cave is satisfied, or else there is no money due to himself; but I let alone any such discourse, only getting as much out of him as I could. I perceive he is a rogue, and hath enquired into everything, and consulted with Dr. Pepys.

26th. By water to Deptford and to Woolwich to view Clothiers cordage, which I found bad and stopped the receipt of it. Thence to the dockyard, and there saw the new ship in very great

forwardness. To White Hall. There I could not get into the Park, and so was fain to stay in the gallery over the gate to look to the passage into the Park, into which the King hath forbid of late anybody's coming. To see some pictures at one Huysman's,<sup>1</sup> a picture-drawer, a Dutchman, which is said to exceed Lely; and indeed there is both of the Queens and Maids of Honour, particularly Mrs. Stuart's, in a buff doublet like a soldier, as good pictures, I think, as ever I saw. The Queen is drawn in one like a shepherdess, in the other like St. Catherine, most like and most admirably. I was mightily pleased with this sight indeed. Mr. Pen, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife; a most modish person, grown, she says, a fine gentleman.<sup>2</sup>

27th. To Cutler's house, and there had a very good dinner; and had two or three pretty young ladies of their relations there. Home, and then find my boy, Tom Edwards,<sup>3</sup> come, sent me by Captain Cooke, having been bred in the King's Chapel these four years. I propose to make a clerk of him; and, if he deserves well, to do well by him. I find my boy a very schoolboy, that talks innocently and impertinently, but at present it is a sport to us, and in a little time he will have it. So sent him to bed, he saying that he used to go to bed at eight o'clock. All the news this day is that the Dutch are, with twenty-two sail of ships of war, cruising up and down about Ostend; at which we are alarmed. My Lord Sandwich is come back into the Downs with only eight sail, which is, or may be, a prey to the Dutch, if they knew our weakness and inability to set out any more speedily.

28th. (Lord's day.) Creed dined. After dinner I took him to church, but slept the best part of the sermon, which was a most silly one. To bed, very merry to think how Mr. Hollyard, who came in this evening to see me, makes nothing, but proving as a most clear thing that Rome is Antichrist.

29th. Mr. Hughes came to speak with me, and told me that, as he came this morning from Deptford, he left the King's yard afire. So I presently took a boat, and down, and there found, by God's providence, the fire out; but if there had been any wind it must have burned all our stores, which is a most dreadful consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Huysmans, a native of Antwerp: settled in London and attained considerable eminence as a painter. He died in 1696.

<sup>2</sup> He became the celebrated Quaker.

<sup>3</sup> Tom Edwards's death is noticed by Pepys in a letter to Sir Richard Haddock, dated 20th August 1681. Rawlinson, A 194, fol. 256.

Home, and Creed and I met at my Lady Sandwich's, and there dined; but my Lady is become as handsome, I think, as ever she was; and so good and discreet a woman I know not in the world. I must remember that, never since I was a housekeeper, I ever lived so quietly without any noise, or one angry word almost, as I have done since my present maids Bess, Jane, and Susan came, and were together. Now I have taken a boy, and am taking a woman, I pray God we may not be worse.

30th. Comes Mr. Pen to visit me. I perceive something of learning he hath got, but a great deal, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garb, and affected manner of speech and gait. I fear all real profit he hath made of his travel will signify little.

31st. Up by five o'clock and to my office, and dispatch a great deal of my business. At noon home to dinner, and there my wife has got me some pretty good oysters, which is very soon and the soonest, I think, I ever eat any. After dinner I up to hear my boy play upon a lute; and indeed the boy would, with a little practice, play very well upon the lute, which pleases me well. Casting up my monthly accounts, and, blessed be God! find myself worth £1020. Prince Rupert, I hear this day, is to go to command this fleet going to Guinea against the Dutch. I doubt few will be pleased with his going, being accounted an unhappy man.<sup>1</sup> Pretty well in health, since I left off wearing of a gown within doors all day, and then go out with my legs into the cold, which brought me daily pain.

September 1st. To the 'Change, and thence brought Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and Creed, and dined very merry and handsomely; but my wife not being well, she not with us; and we cut up the great cake Moorcock lately sent us, which is very good.

2d. My wife abroad with me to Bartholomew Fair, and our boy with us, and there showed them and myself the dancing on the ropes, and several other the best shows; but pretty it is to see how our boy carries himself so innocently clownish as would make one laugh. Then up and down, to buy combs for my wife to give her maids.

3d. I have had a bad night's rest tonight, not sleeping well, as my wife observed; and I thought myself to be mightily bit with fleas, and in the morning she chid her maids for not looking the fleas a' days. But when I rose I found that it is only the change of the weather from hot to cold, which, as I was two winters ago,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. unlucky, or unfortunate (*infelix*), now obsolete in this sense.

do stop my pores, and so my blood tingles and itches all day, all over my body. But sweating cured me then, and I hope, and am told, will this also. Mr. Hollyard came to me to discourse about the privileges of Surgeons' Hall as to our signing of bills, wherein I did give him a little, and but a little, satisfaction; for we won't lose our power of recommending them once approved of by the Halls.

4th. (Lord's day.) All the morning looking over my old wardrobe, and laying by things for my brother John and my father, by which I shall leave myself very bare in clothes, but yet as much as I need, and the rest would but spoil in the keeping. All the afternoon my wife and I above, and then the boy and I to singing of psalms and Mr. Porter's motets; and it is a great joy to us that I am come to this condition to maintain a person in the house able to give me such pleasure as this boy do by his thorough knowledge of music. Mr. Hill came to tell me, that he had got a gentlewoman for my wife—one Mrs. Ferrabosco, that sings most admirably. I seemed glad of it; but I hear she is too gallant for me, and I am not sorry that I miss her.

5th. With the Duke; where all our discourse of war in the highest measure. Prince Rupert was with us, who is fitting himself to go to sea in the *Henrietta*. And afterwards I met him and Mr. Gray, and says he, 'God damn me, I can answer but for one ship, and in that I will do my part; for it is not in that as in an army, where a man can command everything.' Came W. Bowyer and dined with us; but strange to see how he could not endure onions in sauce to lamb, but was overcome with the sight of it, and so was forced to make his dinner of an egg or two. To Woolwich with a galley, all the way reading Sir J. Suckling's '*Aglaure*,' which, methinks, is but a mean play: nothing of design in it. My aunt James has been here today. I do condemn myself mightily for my pride and contempt of my aunt and kindred that are not as high as myself.

6th. Called upon Doll, our pretty 'Change woman, for a pair of gloves trimmed with yellow ribbon, to match the petticoat my wife bought yesterday, which cost me 20s.; but she is so pretty, that, God forgive me! I could not think it too much, which is a strange slavery that I stand in to beauty, that I value nothing near it. This day Mr. Coventry did tell us how the Duke did receive the Dutch Ambassador the other day, by telling him that, whereas they think us in jest, he believes that the Prince Rupert, which



goes in this fleet to Guinea, will soon tell them that we are in earnest, and that he himself will do the like here, in the head of the fleet here at home; and that he did not doubt to live to see the Dutch as fearful of provoking the English under the government of a King, as he remembers them to have been under that of a Coquin.

7th. With Creed walked to Bartholomew Fair, this being the last day, and there I saw the best dancing on the ropes that I think I ever saw in my life.

8th. All haste made in setting out this Guinea fleet, but yet not such as will ever do the King's business, if we come to a war. My wife this afternoon being very well dressed by her new woman, Mary Mercer, a decayed merchant's daughter that our Will helps us to, did go to the christening of Mrs. Mills the parson's wife's child, where she never was before.

9th. Up, and put things in order against dinner. I out and bought several things: among others, a dozen of silver salts. And at noon comes my company, namely, Anthony and Will Joyce and their wives, my aunt James, newly come out of Wales, and my cousin Sarah Gyles. Her husband did not come; and by her I did understand afterwards that it was because he was not able to pay me the 40s. she had borrowed a year ago of me. I was as merry as I could, giving them a good dinner; but W. Joyce did so talk, that he made everybody else dumb, but only laugh at him. I forgot there was Mr. Harman and his wife, my aunt, a very good harmless woman. All their talk is of her and my two she-cousin Joyces, and Will's little boy Will, who was also here today. They eyed mightily my great cupboard of plate—I this day putting my two flagons upon my table; and indeed it is a fine sight, and better than ever I did hope to see of my own. Mercer dined with us at table, this being her first dinner in my house. After dinner my wife and Mercer, and Tom and I, sat till eleven at night, singing and fiddling, and a great joy it is to see me master of so much pleasure in my house. The girl plays pretty well upon the harpsichon, but only ordinary tunes, but hath a good hand: sings a little, but hath a good voice and ear. My boy, a brave boy, sings finely, and is the most pleasant boy at present, while his ignorant boy's tricks last, that ever I saw.

10th. All the morning much troubled to think what the end of our great sluggishness will be; for we do nothing in this Office like people able to carry on a war. We must be put out, or other

people put in. My wife and I and Mercer to the Duke's House, and there saw 'The Rivals,'<sup>1</sup> which is no excellent play, but good acting in it; especially Gosnell comes and sings and dances finely; but, for all that, fell out of the key, so that the music could not play to her afterwards; and so Harris also did go out of the time to agree with her. This night I received, by Will, £105, the first fruits of my endeavours in the late contract for victualling of Tangier, for which God be praised! for I can, with a safe conscience, say that I have therein saved the King £5,000 per annum, and yet got myself a hope of £300 per annum without the least wrong to the King.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church in the best manner I have gone a good while—that is to say, with my wife and her woman Mercer along with us, and Tom, my boy, waiting on us. A dull sermon. With Mr. Blagrove, walking in the Abbey, he telling me the whole government and discipline of White Hall Chapel, and the caution now used against admitting any debauched persons. This afternoon, it seems, Sir J. Minnes fell sick at church, and, going down the gallery stairs, fell down dead, but came to himself again, and is pretty well.

12th. Up, and to my cousin Anthony Joyce's, and there took leave of my Aunt James and both cousins, their wives, who are this day going down to my father's by coach. I did give my aunt 20s. to carry as a token to my mother, and 10s. to Pall. With the Duke, and saw him with great pleasure play with his little girl,<sup>2</sup> like an ordinary private father of a child. To Mr. Creed's lodgings, talking mightily of the convenience and necessity of a man's wearing good clothes, and so after eating a mess of cream I took leave of him.

13th. To Fishmongers' Hall, where we met the first time upon the Fishery Committee, and many good things discoursed of, concerning making of farthings, which was proposed as a way of raising money for this business, and then that of lotteries, but with great confusion; but I hope we shall fall into greater order.

14th. Up, and wanting some things that should be laid ready for my dressing myself, I was angry; and one thing after another made my wife give Bess warning to be gone, which the jade,

<sup>1</sup> A comedy; an alteration of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ascribed to Davenant by Downes, p. 23, and by Langbaine, p. 547. Harris played Theocles. Gosnell is not mentioned in the cast by Downes.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Queen Mary.

whether out of fear or ill nature or simplicity I know not, but she took it and asked leave to go forth to look a place, and did, which vexed me to the heart, she being as good a natured wench as ever we shall have, only forgetful. Home and found Mr. Pen come to visit my wife, and stayed with them till sent for to Mr. Bland's; and against my will left them together, but, God knows, without any reason of fear in my conscience of evil between them. But such is my natural folly.

15th. After dinner, many people came in, and kept me all the afternoon; among other, the Master and Wardens of Surgeons' Hall, who stayed arguing their cause with me.

16th. Mr. Gauden coming to me, I had a good opportunity to speak to him about his present, which hitherto hath been a burden to me, because I was doubtful that he meant it as a temptation to me to stand by him in the business of Tangier victualling; but he clears me it was not, and that what he did was for my old kindnesses to him, and dispatching of his business. Met Sir W. Warren, and afterwards to the Sun tavern, where he brought to me, being all alone, a £100 in a bag, which I offered him to give him my receipt for, but he told me no, it was my own, which he had a little while since promised me; and so most kindly he did give it me, and I as joyfully, even out of myself, carried it home in a coach—he himself expressly taking care that nobody might see this business done, though I was willing enough to have carried a servant with me to have received it, but he advised me to do it myself. Met Mr. Pargiter, and he would needs have me drink a cup of horseradish ale, which he and a friend of his, troubled with the stone, have been drinking of: which we did, and then walked into the fields as far almost as Sir G. Whitmore's,<sup>1</sup> all the way talking of Russia, which, he says, is a sad place; and, though Moscow is a very great city, yet it is from the distance between house and house, and few people compared with this, and poor, sorry houses, the Emperor himself living in a wooden house; his exercise only flying a hawk at pigeons, and carrying pigeons ten or twelve miles off, and then laying wagers which pigeon shall come soonest home to her house. All the winter within doors, some few playing at chess, but most drinking their time away. Women live very slavishly there, and, it seems, in the Emperor's court, no room hath above

<sup>1</sup> Baulmes, at Hoxton, situate in the parish of Hackney, near the Islington boundary, belonged to Sir George Whitmore, of Barnes, in Surrey, who was lord mayor, in 1631, and a great sufferer for the Royal cause.

two or three windows, and those the greatest not a yard wide or high, for warmth in winter time; and that the general cure for all diseases there is their sweating-houses; or, people that are poor, they get into their ovens, being heated, and there lie. Little learning among them of any sort. Not a man that speaks Latin, unless the Secretary of State by chance. This day old Hardwicke come, and redeemed a watch he had left with me in pawn for 40s. seven years ago, and I let him have it.

17th. To the office, where Mr. Coventry very angry to see things go so coldly as they do, and I must needs say it makes me fearful every day of having some change of the Office.

18th. (Lord's day.) Last night my aunt Wight did send my wife a new scarf, laced, as a token for her many givings to her; but my aim is to get myself something more from my uncle's favour than this.

19th. My wife having put on, today, her winter new suit of moire, which is handsome, after dinner I did give her £15, to lay out in linen and necessaries for the house, and to buy a suit for Pall. I met with Dr. Pierce today, who, speaking of Dr. Fraizer's<sup>1</sup> being so earnest to have such a one go surgeon to the Prince's person will have him go in his terms and with so much money in his hands, he tells me, when I was wondering that Fraizer should order things with the Prince in that confident manner, that Fraizer is so great with my Lady Castlemaine and Stuart, and all the ladies at Court, in helping to slip their calves when there is occasion, and with the great men in curing of them, that he can do what he please with the King, in spite of any man, and upon the same score with the Prince; they all having more or less occasion to make use of him. Colonel Reymes<sup>2</sup> did this day tell me how it is clear that, if my Lord Teviot had lived, he would have quite undone Tangier, or designed himself to be master of it. He did put the King upon most great, chargeable, and unnecessary works there; and took the course industriously to deter all other merchants but himself to deal there, and to make both King and all others pay what he pleased for all that was brought thither.

20th. Met Captain Poyntz, who hath some place, or title to a

<sup>1</sup> Sir Alexander Fraizer, one of the king's physicians. Sir John Denham refers to him very unceremoniously in *A Dialogue between Sir John Pooley and Mr. Thomas Killigrew*.

<sup>2</sup> Bullen Reymes, M.P. for Melcombe Regis, in 1664, was appointed one of the commissioners for sick and wounded prisoners of war.

place, belonging to gaming; and so I discoursed with him about our business of improving of the Lotteries, for the King's benefit, and that of the Fishery, and had some light from him in the business. I find, with great delight, that I am come to my good temper of business again. God continue me in it!

21st. To Huysman's, the great picture-drawer, and saw again very fine pictures, and have his promise, for Mr. Povy's sake, to take pains in what picture I shall set him about, and I think to have my wife's. To Povy's, to dinner, where great and good company; among others Sir John Skeffington,<sup>1</sup> whom I knew at Magdalene College, a fellow-commoner, my fellow pupil, but one with whom I had no great acquaintance, he being then, God knows! much above me.

22d. My wife not well, and she tells me she thinks she is with child, but I neither believe nor desire it. But God's will be done! Home to bed, having got a strange cold in my head by flinging off my hat <sup>2</sup> at a dinner, and sitting with the wind in my neck.

23d. Comes Mr. Fuller, that was the wit of Cambridge and Prævaricator<sup>3</sup> in my time, and stayed all the morning with me, discoursing, and his business to get a man discharged, which I did do for him. To the office, where Sir G. Carteret, and we met about an order of the Council for the hiring him a house, giving him £1,000 fine, and £70 per annum for it. Here Sir J. Minnes took occasion, in the most childish and most unbecoming manner, to reproach us all, but most himself, that he was not valued as Comptroller among us, nor did anything but only set his hand to

<sup>1</sup> Described in the Magdalene College Register-book as John Skeffington, son of Sir Richard Skelington, Knight, of Coventry, admitted as a pensioner, 19th September 1649, and in April 1651, made a fellow-commoner. Sir John Skeffington married Mary, only daughter and heir of Sir John Clotworthy, who was, in 1660, created Viscount Massereene, of Ireland, with remainder to his son-in-law, Sir John Skeffington, who succeeded as second viscount in 1665, and died in 1695.

<sup>2</sup> In Lord Clarendon's essay *On the Decay of Respect paid to Age*, he says, that in his younger days he never kept his hat on before those older than himself, *except at dinner*.

<sup>3</sup> In Dean Peacock's work on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge, Appendix A, p. xxvi, there is an interesting account of the Varier or Prævaricator, who was appointed at the commencement of the year preceding and made an oration, in which he was authorized by custom, like the Tripos at the lesser Comitia, to use considerable freedom of language, a privilege the abuse of which led by degrees to the abolition of the office. The functionary was named from varying the question, which he proposed either by a play on the words, or by the transposition of the terms in which it was expressed.

paper (which is but too true), and everybody had a palace, and he no house to lie in, and wished he had but as much to build him a house with as we have laid out in carved work. It was to no end to oppose, but all bore it, and, after laughed at him for it.

24th. Comes one Phillips, who is concerned in the Lottery, and from him I collected much concerning that business. He told me that Monsieur du Puy, that is so great a man at the Duke of York's and this man's great opponent, is a knave, and by quality but a tailor. We were told today of a Dutch ship of 3 or 400 tons, where all the men were dead of the plague, and the ship cast ashore at Gothenburg.

25th. (Lord's day.) My throat being yet very sore, and my head out of order, we went not to church, but spent all the morning reading of 'The Mad Lover,'<sup>1</sup> a very good play. Read another play, 'The Custom of the Country,'<sup>2</sup> which is a very poor one, methinks.

26th. I have looked a little too much after Tangier and the Fishery, and that in the sight of Mr. Coventry; but I have good reason to love myself for serving Tangier, for it is one of the best flowers in my garden.

28th. My Lord Rutherford would needs carry me and another Scotch Lord to a play, and so we saw, coming late, part of 'The General'; my Lord Orrery, Broghill's, second play. But, Lord! to see how no more either in words, sense, or design, it is to his 'Harry the 5th,' is not imaginable, and so poorly acted, though in finer clothes, is strange. And here I must confess breach of a vow in appearance, but I not desiring it, and my oath being to go neither at my own charge nor at another's; but here I neither know which of them paid for me, or did it by desire. So that with a safe conscience I do think my oath is not broke, and judge that God Almighty will not think it otherwise. My mind at a great loss how to go down to Brampton this week, to satisfy Pigott; but, what with the fears of my house, my money, my wife, and my office, I know not how in the world to think of it; Tom Hater being out of town, and I having near £1,000 in my house.

29th. After dinner to Sir G. Carteret, and with him to his new house he is taking in Broad Street, and there surveyed all the rooms and bounds, in order to the drawing up a lease thereof; and that done, Mr. Cutler, his landlord, took me up and down, and showed me all his ground and house, which is extraordinary great,

<sup>1</sup> *The Mad Lover*, by Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> By Fletcher and Massinger.

he having bought all the Augustine Friars, and many, many a £1,000 he hath, and will bury there. Fresh news come of our beating the Dutch at Guinea quite out of all their castles almost, which will make them quite mad here at home, sure. And Sir G. Carteret did tell me that the King do joy mightily at it; but asked him, laughing, 'But,' says he, 'how shall I do to answer this to the Ambassador when he comes?' Nay, they say that we have beat them out of the New Netherlands, too; so that we have been doing them mischief for a great while in several parts of the world, without public knowledge or reason. Their fleet for Guinea is now, they say, ready and abroad, and will be going this week.

30th. At my accounts, it being a great month, both for profit and layings out—the last being £89 for kitchen, and clothes for myself and wife, and a few extraordinaries for the house; and my profits, beside salary, £239; so that I have this week, notwithstanding great layings out and preparations for laying out, which I make as paid this month, my balance to come to £1,203.

October 1st. We go now on with great vigour in preparing against the Dutch, who, they say, will now fall upon us without doubt upon this high news come of our beating them so wholly in Guinea.

2d. (Lord's day.) Walked with my boy through the City, putting in at several churches, among others at Bishopsgate and there saw the picture usually put before the King's book put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to set up in a church. I intended to have seen the Quakers, who, they say, do meet every Lord's day at the Mouth, at Bishopsgate; but I could see none stirring, nor was it fit to ask for the place; so I walked over Moorfields, and thence to Clerkenwell church, and there, as I wished, sat next pew to the fair Butler, who indeed is a most perfect beauty still; and one I do very much admire myself for my choice of her for a beauty, having the best lower part of her face that ever I saw all days of my life. After church I walked to my Lady Sandwich's, through my Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields behind Gray's Inn; and, indeed, they are a very great and a noble work. My Lady asked me my opinion about Creed, whether he would have a wife or no, and what he was worth, and proposed Mrs. Wright for him, which, she says, she heard he was once enquiring after. She desired I would take a good time and manner of proposing it, and I said I would, though I believed

he would love nothing but money, and much was not to be expected there, she said. So away back to Clerkenwell church, and so we walked all over the fields home, and there my wife was angry with me for not coming home, and for gadding abroad to look after beauties.

3d. With Sir J. Minnes, by coach, to St. James's; and there all the news now of very hot preparations for the Dutch: and, being with the Duke, he told us he was resolved to make a trip himself, and that Sir W. Pen should go in the same ship with him. Which honour, God forgive me! I could grudge him, for his knavery and dissimulation, though I do not envy much the having the same place myself. Talk also of great haste in the getting out another fleet and building some ships; and now it is likely we have put one another by each other's dalliance past a retreat.

4th. This morning Sir W. Pen went to Chatham to look after the ships now going out thence, and particularly that wherein the Duke and himself go. He took Sir G. Ascue with him, whom, I believe, he hath brought into play. After dinner to a play, to see 'The General'; which is so dull and so ill acted, that I think it is the worst I ever saw or heard in all my days. I happened to sit near to Sir Charles Sedley, who I find a very witty man; and he did at every line take notice of the dullness of the poet and badness of the action, and that most pertinently; which I was mightily taken with.

5th. To New Bridewell to meet with Mr. Poyntz, Master of the Workhouse, about making bewpers for us. But he was not within; however, his clerk did lead me up and down through all the house, and there I did with great pleasure see the many pretty works, and the little children employed, every one, to do something, which was a very fine sight, and worthy encouragement. I cast away a crown among them. To the coffee-house, and there fell in discourse with the Secretary of the Virtuosi of Gresham College. He tells me of a new-invented instrument to be tried before the College anon, and I intend to see it. So to Trinity House, and there I dined among the dull old fellows. Comes Mr. Cocker to see me, and I discoursed with him about his writing and ability of sight, and how I shall do to get some glass or other to help my eyes by candle-light; and he tells me he will bring me the helps he hath, within a day or two, and show me what he do. To the Music-meeting at the Post-office, where I was once before. And thither anon come all the Gresham College, and a great deal



of noble company: and the new instrument was brought called the Arched Viol, where, being tuned with lute-strings, and played on with keys like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which, by the keys, are pressed down upon it, are grated in imitation of a bow, by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble several viols played on with one bow, but so basely and harshly that it will never do. But, after three hours' stay, it could not be fixed in tune; and so they were fain to go to some other music of instruments. This morning, by three o'clock, the Prince, and King and Duke with him, went down the River; and the Prince under sail the next tide after, and so is gone from the Hope. God give him better success than he used to have!

7th. To my office, and there came Mr. Cocker, and brought me a globe of glass and a frame of oiled paper, as I desired, to show me the manner of his gaining light to grave by, and to lessen the glaringness of it at pleasure by an oiled paper. This I bought of him, giving him a crown for it; and so, well satisfied, he went away.

8th. Contracted with one Mr. Bridges, at the White Bear on Cornhill, for 100 pieces of calico to make flags; and as I know I shall save the king's money, so I hope to get a little, for my pains and venture of my money, myself.

9th. (Lord's day.) Mr. Fuller, my Cambridge acquaintance, coming, he told me he was to preach at Barking church, and so I hear him, and he preached well and neatly. Thence, it being time enough, to our own church, and there stayed wholly privately at the great door to gaze upon a pretty lady, and I think her to be one of the prettiest women I ever saw. To bed without prayers, it being cold and tomorrow washing day.

10th. Sir W. Pen do grow every day more and more regarded by the Duke, because of his service heretofore in the Dutch war, which I am confident is by some strong obligations he hath laid upon Mr. Coventry; for Mr. Coventry must needs know that he is a man of very mean parts, but only a bred seaman. Sir W. Batten do rail still against Mr. Turner and his wife, telling me he is a false fellow, and his wife a false woman and has rotten teeth and false, set in with wire; and as I know they are so, I am glad he finds it so. Sat up till past twelve at night, to look over the account of the collections for the Fishery; and the loose and base manner that moneys so collected are disposed of in, would make a man never part with a penny in that manner; and, above all, the inconvenience of having a great man, though never so seeming pious

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with him. Among others, he tells me that Richard is, and hath long been, in France, and is now going into Italy. He owns publicly that he do correspond with him and return him all his money; that Richard hath been in some straits at the beginning, but relieved by his friends; that he goes by another name, but do not disguise himself, nor deny himself to any man that challenges him. He tells me for certain that offers had been made to the old man<sup>1</sup> of marriage between the King and his daughter to have obliged him, but he would not. He thinks, with me, that it never was in his power to bring in the King with the consent of any of his officers about him; and that he scorned to bring him in as Monk did, to secure himself and deliver everybody else. When I told him of what I found writ in a French book of one Monsieur Sorbière<sup>2</sup> that gives an account of his observations here in England; among other things he says, that it is reported that Cromwell did, in his lifetime, transpose many of the bodies of the kings of England from one grave to another, and that, by that means, it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell, or of one of the Kings. Mr. White tells me that he believes he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about it. He says the hand of God is much to be seen; that all his children are in good condition enough as to estate, and that their relations that betrayed their family are all now either hanged or very miserable.

14th. Up by break of day, and got to Brampton by three o'clock, where my father and mother overjoyed to see me, my mother ready to weep every time she looked upon me. After dinner my father and I to the Court, and there did all our business to my mind. So home, and after supper I to bed.

15th. My father and I up, and walked alone to Hinchinbroke; and, among the other late chargeable works that my Lord hath done there, we saw his water-works and the Ora, which is very fine; and so is the house all over, but I am sorry to think of the money at this time spent therein. Taking leave, W. Joyce and I set out, calling T. Trice at Bugden, and thence got by night to Stevenage, and there mighty merry, though I in bed more weary

<sup>1</sup> Oliver Cromwell.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Sorbière, who, after studying divinity and medicine at Paris, travelled in different parts of Europe, and published his voyage into England, described by Voltaire as a dull, scurrilous satire upon a nation of which the author knew nothing. *Œs.* 1670.

than the other two days, which, I think, proceeded from our galloping so much; but I find that a coney skin in my breeches preserves me perfectly from galling.

16th. (Lord's day.) It raining, we set out, and about nine o'clock got to Hatfield in church-time; and I 'light, and saw my simple Lord Salisbury<sup>1</sup> sit there in his gallery. To Barnet, and there dined at the Red Lion; thence home by four o'clock, weary but very well.

18th. We made a very great contract with Sir W. Warren for 3,000 load of timber. In the afternoon to the Fishery, where very confused and very ridiculous, my Lord Craven's proceedings, especially his finding fault with Sir J. Colleton<sup>2</sup> and Colonel Griffin's<sup>3</sup> report in the accounts of the lottery-men. Thence I with Mr. Gray in his coach to White Hall; but the King and Duke being abroad, we returned to Somerset House. In discourse I find him a very worthy and studious gentleman in the business of trade. He says that it is concluded among merchants that, where a trade hath once been and do decay, it never recovers again; and, therefore, that the manufacture of cloth of England will never come to esteem again: that, among other faults, Sir Richard Ford cannot keep a secret: that Sir Elli. Layton is, for a speech of forty words, the wittiest man that ever he knew in his life, but longer he is nothing. At Somerset House I saw the Queen's new rooms, which are most stately and nobly furnished; and there I saw her and the Duke of York and Duchess. The Duke espied me, and came to me, and talked with me a very great while.

19th. Dined at home; then abroad by coach to buy for the office 'Heron upon the Statute of Charitable Uses,' in order to the doing something better in the Chest than we have done; for I am

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ashamed to see Sir W. Batten possess himself so long of so much money as he has done. Weighed my two silver flagons at Stevens's. They weigh 212 oz., 27 dwt., which is about £50, at 5s. per oz.: and then they judge the fashion to be worth above 5s. per oz. more; nay, some say 10s. an ounce the fashion. Sorry to see that the fashion is worth so much, and the silver come to no more.

20th. With Mr. Cholmely to Fleet Street, in the way he telling me that Tangier is like to be in a bad condition with Fitzgerald, he being a man of no honour, nor presence, nor little honesty, and endeavours to raise the Irish and suppress the English interest there, and offend everybody. Home, taking two silver tumblers home, which I have bought.

21st. To Sir W. Turner's, and there bought my cloth, coloured, for a suit and cloak, to line with plush the cloak, which will cost me money; but I find that I must go handsomely, whatever it costs me, and the charge will be made up in the fruit it brings. In the evening comes Mr. Martin, to trouble me again to get him a Lieutenant's place, for which he is as fit as a fool can be. But I put him off like an ass, as he is.

23d. (Lord's day.) To church. At noon comes unexpected Mr. Fuller, the minister, and dines with me. At night to the office, doing business, and then home to supper. Then a psalm, to prayers, and to bed.

24th. To a Committee, at White Hall, of Tangier. Thence into the galleries to talk with my Lord Sandwich; among other things, about the Prince's writing up to tell us of the danger he and his fleet lie in at Portsmouth, of receiving affronts from the Dutch; which, my Lord said, he would never have done, had he lain there with one ship alone: nor is there any great reason for it, because of the sands. However, the fleet will be ordered to go and lay themselves up at the Cowes. Much beneath the prowess of the Prince, I think, and the honour of the nation, at the first to be found to secure themselves. My Lord is well pleased to think that if the Duke and the Prince go, all the blame of any miscarriage will not light on him: and that, if anything goes well, he hopes he shall have the share of the glory, for the Prince is by no means well esteemed of by anybody. This day the great O'Neale<sup>1</sup> died; I believe, to the content of all the Protestant pretenders in Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel O'Neale, husband of the Countess of Chesterfield.

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Pett is wholly beholding to me for, and he do know, and I believe will acknowledge it. Going out of the gate, an ordinary woman prayed me to give her room to London, which I did, but spoke not to her all the way, but read, as long as I could see, my book again. Dark when we came to London, and a stop of coaches in Southwark. I stayed above half an hour, and then 'light, and finding Sir W. Batten's coach, heard they were gone into the Bear, at the bridge-foot, and thither I to them. Presently the stop is removed, and then going out to find my coach, I could not find it. So I fain to go through the dark and dirt over the bridge; and my leg fell in a hole broke on the bridge, but, the constable standing there to keep people from it, I was catched up, otherwise I had broke my leg: for which mercy the Lord be praised! So home, where the little girl hath looked to the house well, but no wife come home, which made me begin to fear for her, the water being very rough and cold and dark. But by and by she and her company come in all well, at which I was glad, though angry. The City did last night very freely lend the King £100,000, without any security but the King's word, which was very noble.

27th. At noon Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself were treated at the Dolphin by Mr. Foley,<sup>1</sup> the ironmonger, where a good plain dinner, but I expected music, the missing of which spoiled my dinner, only very good merry discourse at dinner.

28th. My tailor brings me home my fine, new, coloured cloth suit, my cloak lined with plush—as good a suit as ever I wore in my life, and mighty neat, to my great content.

29th. Up, and it being my Lord Mayor's<sup>2</sup> show, my boy and three maids went out; but, it being a very foul, rainy day from morning till night, I was sorry my wife let them go out. All the talk is that De Ruyter is come overland home with six or eight of his captains to command here at home, and their ships kept abroad in the Straits: which sounds as if they had a mind to do something with us.

30th. (Lord's day.) Put on my new, fine, coloured cloth suit, with my cloak lined with plush, which is a dear and noble suit, costing me about £17. To church, and after dinner to a little music with my boy, and so to church with my wife, and all the

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Foley, afterwards of Witley Court. He was the grandfather of the first Lord Foley, and died on the 1st October 1677, aged fifty-nine.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lawrence. The king and queen were present at the banquet.

evening reading and at music with my boy with great pleasure. So to bed.

31st. To a Committee of Tangier, where, it is worth remembering, when Mr. Coventry proposed the retrenching some of the charge of the horse, the first word asked by the Duke of Albemarle was, 'Let us see who commands them,' there being three troops. One of them he calls to mind was by Sir Toby Bridges. 'Oh,' says he, 'there is a very good man. If you must reform<sup>1</sup> two of them, be sure let him command the troop that is left.' Till past one in the morning making up my accounts, find I am a little better than I was, which is £1205. So home to bed full of content therein, and vexed for my being so angry in bad words to my wife tonight, she not giving me a good account of her layings out to my mind. This day I hear young Mr. Stanley, a brave young gentleman that went out with young Jermyn, with Prince Rupert, is already dead of the small-pox, at Portsmouth. All preparations against the Dutch; and the Duke of York fitting himself with all speed to go to the fleet which is hastening for him, being now resolved to go in the Charles.

November 1st. To the Committee of the Fishery, and there we sat with several good discourses, and some bad and simple ones, and with great disorder. But my report of the business of the collections is the only thing looks like a thing well done since we sat.

2nd. With Mr. Castle to Redriffe, and there walked to Deptford, to view a parcel of brave knees of his, and so back home again, I seeming very friendly to him, though I know him to be a rogue and one that hates me with his heart.

3d. To the office, where strange to see how Sir W. Pen is flocked to by people of all sorts against his going to sea. This night Sir W. Batten did tell me strange news, which troubles me, that my Lord Sandwich will be sent Governor to Tangier, which, in some respects, indeed, I should be glad of, for the good of the place and the safety of his person: but I think his honour will suffer, and, it may be, his interest fail by his distance.

4th. To St. James's, where I find Mr. Coventry full of business, packing up for his going to sea with the Duke. Walked with him, talking, to White Hall, where to the Duke's lodgings, who is gone thither to lodge lately. Talking about the management of our office, Mr. Coventry tells me the weight of dispatch will lie most

<sup>1</sup> Reform—i.e. reduce or abolish.



on me, and told me freely his mind touching Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, the latter of whom, he most aptly said, was like a lapwing, that all he did was to keep a flutter, to keep others from the nest that they would find. He told me an old story of the former about the lighthouses, how just before he had certified to the Duke against the use of them, and what a burden they are to trade, and presently after, at his being at Harwich, comes to desire that he might have the setting one up there, and gets the usefulness of it certified also by the Trinity House. After long discoursing and considering all our stores and other things, as how the King hath resolved upon Captain Taylor and Colonel Middleton, the first to be commissioner for Harwich, and the latter for Portsmouth, home, and Mr. Duke, our Secretary for the Fishery, dined with me.

5th. To the Duke's House, to a play, 'Machethi,'<sup>1</sup> a pretty good play, but admirably acted. Thence home; the coach being forced to go round by London Wall home, because of the bonfires; the day being mightily observed in the City.

6th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church. Dined at home. At night, to supper with my uncle Wight, where very merry, and so home. To prayers and to bed.

7th. To White Hall, where mightily thrusting about the Duke now upon his going. We were with him long. He advised us to follow our business close, and to be directed in his absence by the Committee of the Council for the Navy. By and by a meeting of the Fishery, where the Duke was; but in such haste that I had not a fit opportunity to propose my paper that I wrote yesterday; but I see the greatest businesses are done so superficially, that I wonder anything succeeds at all among us, that is public. To my Lady Sandwich's, and there met my wife and dined, but I find that I dine as well myself—that is, as neatly, and my meat as good and well dressed, as my good Lady do, in the absence of my Lord.

8th. To the office, where by and by Mr. Coventry came, and after doing a little business took his leave of us, being to go to sea with the Duke tomorrow. At noon I and Sir J. Minnes and Lord Berkeley, who with Sir J. Duncomb<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Chicheley are made Masters of the Ordnance, to the office of the Ordnance, to discourse about wadding for guns. Thence to dinner, all of us to the Lieutenant's of the Tower; where a good dinner, but disturbed in the middle of it by the King's coming into the Tower; and so we broke up, and to him, and went up and down the

<sup>1</sup> As altered by Davenant.

<sup>2</sup> M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds.

storehouses and magazines; which are, with the addition of the new great store-house, a noble sight. This day Mr. Lever sent my wife a pair of silver candle-ticks, very pretty ones. The first man that ever presented me, to whom I have not only done little service, but apparently did him the greatest disservice in his business of accounts, as Purser-General, of any man at the Board.

9th. Called up, as I had appointed, between two and three o'clock, and I and my boy Tom by water with a galley down to the Hope, it being a fine starry night. Got thither by eight o'clock, and there, as expected, found the Charles her mannamst setting. Commissioner Pett aboard. I up and down to see the ship I was so well acquainted with, and a great work it is, the setting so great a mast. Thence the Commissioner and I on board Sir G. Ascue, in the Henry, who lacks men mightily, which makes me think that there is more believed to be in a man that hath heretofore been employed than truly there is; for one would never have thought, a month ago, that he would have wanted 1000 men at his heels. Nor do I think he hath much of a seaman in him: for he told me, says he, 'Heretofore we used to find our ships clean and ready, everything to our hands in the Downs. Now I come, and must look to see things done like a slave—things that I never minded, nor cannot look after.' And by his discourse I find that he hath not minded anything in her at all. Thence I made use of the Jemmy yacht, and returned to the Tower in her, my boy being a very droll boy and good company. Home and eat something, and then shifting myself, and to White Hall: and there the King being in his Cabinet Council, I desiring to speak with Sir G. Carteret, I was called in, and demanded by the King himself many questions, to which I did give him full answers. There were at this Council my Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, the two Secretaries, and Sir G. Carteret. Not a little contented at this chance of being made known to these persons, and called often by my name by the King. The Duke of York is this day gone away to Portsmouth.

10th. Up, and not finding my things ready, I was so angry with Bess, as to bid my wife bid her provide herself a place, for though she be very good-natured, she has no care nor memory of her business at all. So abroad, intending to have spoke with my Lord Chancellor about the old business of his wood at Clarendon, but could not. My little girl Susan is fallen sick of the measles, we fear, or at least of a scarlet fever.

11th. To the Council-chamber at White Hall, where, looking upon some books of heraldry of Sir Edward Walker's making, which are very fine, I observed the Duke of Monmouth's arms are neatly done, and his title, 'The most noble and high-born Prince, James Scott, Duke Monmouth,' &c.; nor could Sir J. Minnes, nor anybody there, tell whence he should take the name of Scott.<sup>1</sup> And then I found my Lord Sandwich, his title under his arms is, 'The most noble and mighty Lord, Edward Earl of Sandwich,' &c. Sir Edward Walker, afterwards coming in, in discourse did say that there was none of the families of princes in Christendom that do derive themselves so high as Julius Cæsar, nor so far by 1000 years, that can directly prove their rise; only some in Germany do derive themselves from the patrician families of Rome, but that uncertainly; and, among other things, did much inveigh against the writing of romances, that 500 years hence being wrote of matters in general, as the romance of Cleopatra, the world will not know what is the true and which the false. A gentleman told us he saw the other day (and did bring the draft of it to Sir Francis Pridgeon) a monster born of an hostler's wife at Salisbury, two women children perfectly made, joined at the lower part of their bellies, and every part as perfect as two bodies, and only one pair of legs coming forth on one side from the middle where they were joined. It was alive 24 hours, and cried, and did as all hopeful children do; but, being showed too much to people, was killed. To the Council at White Hall, where a great many lords: Anglesey in the chair. But, Lord! to see what work they will make us, and what trouble we shall have to inform men in a business they are to begin to know, when the greatest of our hurry is, is a thing to be lamented; and I fear the consequence will be bad to us. Put on my new shaggy purple gown with gold buttons and loop lace. Among other things, Mr. Turner making his complaint to me how my clerks do all the work and get all the profit, I did make him apprehend how he is beholding to me more than to anybody for my suffering him to act as Purveyor of petty provisions, and told him as largely my little value of anybody's favour, that I believe he will make no more complaints a good while.

12th. Up, being frightened that Mr. Coventry was come to town and now at the office, so I run down, without eating or drinking or washing, to the office, and it proved my Lord Berkeley.

<sup>1</sup> He had married Anne Scott, Duchess of Buccleuch. They were created joint duke and duchess.

13th. (Lord's day.) This morning to church, where mighty sport to hear our clerk sing out of tune, though his master sits by him, and keeps the tune aloud for the parish. All the afternoon with my wife within doors, and getting a speech out of 'Hamlet,' 'To be or not to be,' without book. In the evening to sing psalms, and so to prayers and to bed.

14th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to White Hall, to the Lords of the Admiralty, and there did our business betimes. Thence to Sir Philip Warwick about Navy business: and my Lord Ashley; and afterwards to my Lord Chancellor, who is very well pleased with me and my carrying of his business. And so to the 'Change, where mighty busy; and so home to dinner, where Mr. Creed and Moore: and after dinner I to my Lord Treasurer's, to Sir Philip Warwick there, and then to White Hall to the Duke of Albemarle, about Tangier; and then homeward to the coffee-house, to hear news. And, it seems, the Dutch, as I afterwards found by Mr. Coventry's letters, have stopped a ship of masts of Sir W. Warren's, coming for us in a Swede's ship, which they will not release upon Sir G. Downing's claiming her: which appears as the first act of hostility, and is looked upon as so by Mr. Coventry. The Elias, coming from New England, Captain Hill commander, is sunk: only the captain and a few men saved. She foundered in the sea.

15th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, and everywhere else, thank God, I find myself growing in repute; and so home, and late, very late, at business, nobody minding it but myself. And so home to bed, weary and full of thoughts.

16th. This day my wife went to the burial of a little boy of W. Joyce's.

17th. This day I received from Mr. Folcy, but for me to pay for if I like it, an iron chest, having now received back some money I had laid out for the King, and I hope to have a good sum of money by me thereby in a few days—I think above £800. But when I came home at night I could not find the way to open it; but, which is a strange thing, my little girl Susan could carry it alone from one table clear from the ground, and set it upon another, when neither I nor anyone in my house but Jane, the cook-maid, could do it.

18th. To the Committee of the Fishery, where so poor simple doings about the business of the Lottery, that I was ashamed to see it, that a thing so low and base should have anything to do with

so noble an undertaking. But I had the advantage this day to hear Mr. Williamson discourse, who came to be a contractor with others for the Lotteries, and indeed I find he is a very logical man and a good speaker. I had a letter from Mr. Coventry, that tells me that my Lord Brouncker is to be one of our Commissioners, of which I am very glad, if any more must be.

20th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church, where Pegg Pen very fine in her new coloured silk suit laced with silver lace.

21st. This day for certain news is come that Teddiman hath brought in eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, their Bordeaux fleet, and two men of war, to Portsmouth. And I had letters this afternoon that three are brought into the Downs and Dover; so that the war is begun: God give a good end to it!

22d. To my Lord Treasurer's; where with Sir Philip Warwick, studying all we could to make the last year swell as high as we could. And it is much to see how he do study for the King, to do it to get all the money from the Parliament he can: and I shall be serviceable to him therein, to help him to heads upon which to enlarge the report of the expense. He did observe to me how obedient this Parliament was for a while, and the last Session how they began to differ, and to carp at the King's officers; and what they will do now, he says, is to make agreement for the money, for there is no guess to be made of it. He told me he was prepared to convince the Parliament that the Subsidies are a most ridiculous tax (the four last not rising to £40,000), and unequal. He talks of a tax of Assessment of £70,000 for five years; the people to be secured that it shall continue no longer than there is really a war; and the charges thereof to be paid. He told me that one year of the late Dutch war cost £1,623,000. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there stayed long with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, to speak with my Lord about our Prize Office business; but, being sick and full of visitants, we could not speak with him, and so away home, where Sir Richard Ford did meet us with letters from Holland this day, that it is likely the Dutch fleet will not come out this year: they have not victuals to keep them out, and it is likely they will be frozen before they can get back. Captain Cocke is made Steward for sick and wounded seamen.

23d. This evening Mr. Hollyard came to me and told me that he hath searched my boy and he finds he has a stone in his bladder, which grieves me to the heart, he being a good-natured and well-

disposed boy, and more that it should be my misfortune to have him come to my house. Sir G. Carteret was here this afternoon; and strange to see how we plot to make the charge of this war to appear greater than it is, because of getting money.

24th. To a coffee-house, to drink chocolate—very good; and so by coach to Westminster, being the first day of the Parliament's meeting. After the House had received the King's speech, and what more he had to say delivered in writing, the Chancellor being sick, it rose. I with Sir Philip Warwick home and conferred our matters about the charge of the Navy. I dined with him, and Mr. Povy with us and Sir Edmund Pooley, a fine gentleman, and Mr. Chicheley, being proud to see myself accepted in such company and thought better than I am.

25th. At my office all the morning, to prepare an account of the charge we have been put to extraordinary by the Dutch already; and I have brought it to appear £852,700: but God knows this is only a scare to the Parliament, to make them give the more money. Thence to the Parliament House, and there did give it to Sir Philip Warwick; the House being hot upon giving the King a supply of money. Mr. Jennings tells me the mean manner that Sir Samuel Morland lives near him, in a house he hath bought and laid out money upon, in all to the value of £1,200; but is believed to be a beggar. At Sir W. Batten's I hear that the House have given the King £2,500,000, to be paid for this war, only for the Navy, in three years' time: which is a joyful thing to all the King's party, I see; but was much opposed by Mr. Vaughan and others, that it should be so much.

27th. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning, then dined at home, and to my office, and there all the afternoon setting right my business of flags. In the evening came Mr. Andrews and Hill,<sup>1</sup> and we sung, with my boy, Ravenscroft's 4-part psalms—most admirable music. After supper fell into the rarest discourse with Mr. Hill about Rome and Italy; but most pleasant that ever I had in my life.

28th. Certain news of our peace made by Captain Allen with Algiers; and that the Dutch have sent part of their fleet round by Scotland; and resolve to pay off the rest half-pay, promising the rest in the Spring, hereby keeping their men. But how true this, I know not.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hill, a merchant, whom Pepys describes, in his *Collection of Signs Manual*, as 'my friend, who died at Lisbon in 1675.'

29th. Sir G. Carteret told us how the King inclines to our request of making us Commissioners of the Prize Office.

30th. To the Committee of the Lords, and there did our business; but, Lord! what a sorry despatch these great persons give to business. To my monthly accounts, and find I have £1209. So, with my heart glad to see my accounts fall so right in this time of mixing of moneys and confusion, I home to bed.

December 2d. After dinner with my wife and Mercer to the Duke's House, and there saw 'The Rivals,' which I had seen before; but the play not good, nor anything but the good actings of Betterton and his wife and Harris. Thence homewards, and the coach broke with us in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and so walked to Fleet Street, and there took coach and home; and we all to Sir J. Minnes's, where good discourse of the late troubles, they knowing things, all of them, very well; and Cocke, from the King's own mouth, being then entrusted himself, much do know, particularly that the King's credulity to Cromwell's promises, private to him, against the advice of his friends and the certain discovery of the practices and discourses of Cromwell in council, by Major Huntington,<sup>1</sup> did take away his life, and nothing else. To my office, to fit up an account for Povy, wherein I hope to get something. At it till almost two o'clock, then to supper and to bed.

3d. To a Committee of the Fishery: there only to hear Sir Edward Ford's proposal about farthings, wherein, O God! to see almost everybody interested for him; only my Lord Anglesey, who is a grave, serious man. My Lord Berkeley was there, but is the most hot, fiery man in discourse, without any cause, that ever I saw, even to breach of civility to my Lord Anglesey, in his discourse opposing to my Lord's. At last, though without much satisfaction to me, it was voted that it should be requested of the King, and that Sir Edward Ford's proposal is the best yet made. The Duke of York is expected tonight with great joy from Portsmouth, after his having been abroad at sea three or four days

<sup>1</sup> According to Clarendon the officer here alluded to was a major in Cromwell's own regiment of horse, and employed by him to treat with Charles I whilst at Hampton Court; but, being convinced of the insincerity of the proceeding, communicated his suspicions to that monarch, and immediately gave up his commission. We hear no more of Huntington till the Restoration, when his name occurs with those of many other officers, who tendered their services to the king. His reasons for laying down his commission are printed in Thurloe's *State Papers* and Masenes's *Tracts*.

with the fleet: and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory; and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so.

4th. (Lord's day.) This day I hear the Duke of York is come to town, though expected last night, as I observed, but by what hindrance stopped, I can't tell.

5th. Up, and to White Hall with Sir J. Minnes; and there, among an infinite crowd of great persons, did kiss the Duke's hand; but had no time to discourse. By appointment comes my cousin Roger Pepys and Mrs. Turner, and dined with me, and very merry we were. To White Hall, and there saw Mr. Coventry come to town, and, with all my heart, am glad to see him.

6th. To the Old Exchange, and there hear that the Dutch are fitting their ships out again, which puts us to new discourse, and to alter our thoughts of the Dutch, as to their want of courage or force. Povy tells me how he believes, and in part knows, Creed to be worth £10,000—nay, that now and then he hath three or £4,000 in his hands, for which he gives the interest the King gives, which is ten per cent; and that Creed do come and demand it every three months the interest to be paid him, which Povy looks upon as a cunning and mean trick of him; but, for all that, he will do, and is very rich.

7th. By coach to my Lady Sandwich's, and there dined with her, and found all well and merry. Thence to White Hall, and we waited on the Duke, who looks better than he did, methinks, before his voyage; and, I think, a little more stern than he used to do. So home, and there Povy and Creed stayed and dined with me; but I was sorry I had no better cheer for Povy; for the fool may be useful, and is a cunning fellow in his way, though a strange one, and that that I meet not in any other man, nor can describe in him.

9th. This day I had several letters from several places, of our bringing in great numbers of Dutch ships.

10th. At the office all the morning, where comes my Lord Brouncker with his patent in his hand; at noon I in his coach with him to the 'Change, where he set me down: a modest, civil person he seems to be, but wholly ignorant in the business of the Navy as possible, but I hope to make a friend of him, being a worthy man. Major Holmes is come from Guinea, and is now at Plymouth with great wealth, they say.



11th. (Lord's day.) To church alone in the morning. In the afternoon to the French church, where much pleased with the three sisters of the parson—very handsome, especially in their noses, and sing prettily. I hear a good sermon of the old man, touching duty to parents. Here was Sir Samuel Morland and his lady very fine, with two footmen in new liveries, the church taking much notice of them, and going into their coach after sermon with great gazing. So I home, and my cousin Mary Pepys's husband comes after me, and told me that out of the money he received some months since he did receive 18*l.* too much, and did now come and give it me, which was very pretty. By and by Mr. Hill, and to singing. It is a little strange how these Psalms of Ravenscroft, after two or three times singing, prove but the same again, though good.

12th. To White Hall, where all of us with the Duke. Mr. Coventry did privately tell me the reason of his advice against our pretences to the Prize Office, in his letter from Portsmouth, because he knew that the King and the Duke had resolved to put in some Parliament-men that have deserved well, and that would needs be obliged, by putting them in. Comes Cutler to tell us that the King of France hath forbid any canvas to be carried out of his kingdom. This day, to see how things are ordered in the world, I had a command from the Earl of Sandwich, at Portsmouth, not to be forward with Mr. Cholmely and Sir J. Lawson about the Mole at Tangier, because that what I do therein will, because of his friendship to me known, redound against him, as if I had done it upon his score. So I wrote to my Lord my mistake, and am contented to promise never to pursue it more, which goes against my mind with all my heart.

14th. To my bookseller's, and there spoke for several books against New Year's day, I resolving to lay out about £7 or £8; and bespoke also some plate spoons and forks. Tonight spoke for some fruit for my father against Christmas, and where should I do it, but at the pretty woman's that used to stand in the door at Fenchurch Street, I having a mind to know her.

15th. Mr. Cholmely, discoursing of the condition of Tangier, did give me the whole account of the differences between Fitzgerald and Norwood; and through my Lord FitzHarding's means the Duke of York is led rather to blame Norwood. It seems, of all mankind, there is no man so led by another as the Duke is by

with the fleet: and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory; and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so.

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cloudy, and so no stars appear. But I will endeavour it. Mr. Gray did tell me tonight, for certain, that the Dutch, as high as they seem, do begin to buckle; and that one man in this Kingdom did tell the King that he is offered £40,000 to make a peace, and others have been offered money also. It seems the taking of their Bordeaux fleet thus, arose from a printed Gazette of the Dutch's boasting of fighting, and having beaten the English: in confidence whereof, it coming to Bordeaux, all the fleet comes out, and so falls into our hands.

18th. (Lord's day.) At and after supper Mr. Fuller and I told many stories of apparitions and delusions thereby, and I out with my stories of Tom Mallard; and then to prayers and to bed.

19th. With Sir J. Minnes to White Hall, and there we waited on the Duke. And, among other things, Mr. Coventry took occasion to vindicate himself before the Duke and us, being all there, about the choosing of Taylor<sup>1</sup> for Harwich. Upon which the Duke did clear him, and did tell us that he did expect that, after he had named a man, none of us shall then oppose or find fault with the man; but, if we had anything to say, we ought to say it before he had chose him. Sir G. Carteret thought himself concerned, and endeavoured to clear himself: and by and by Sir W. Batten did speak, knowing himself guilty, and did confess that, being pressed by the Council, he did say what he did, that he was accounted a Fanatic; but did not know that at that time he had been appointed by his Royal Highness. To which the Duke replied, that it was impossible but he must know that he had appointed him; and so it did appear that the Duke did mean all this while Sir W. Batten.

21st. To Mrs. Turner, in Salisbury Court, and with her a little; and carried her, the porter staying for me, our eagle, which she desired the other day, and we were glad to be rid of her, she fouling our house mightily. They are much pleased with her. My Lord Sandwich this day writes me word that he hath seen, at Portsmouth, the comet, and says it is the most extraordinary thing he ever saw.

22d. Met with a copy of verses mightily commended by some gentlemen there, of my Lord Mordaunt's in excuse of his going to sea this late expedition, with the Duke of York. But, Lord! they are but sorry things; only a Lord made them. Thence to the 'Change: and there, among the merchants, I hear fully the news

<sup>1</sup> Silas Taylor, storekeeper there.

of our being beaten to dirt at Guinea by De Ruyter with his fleet. The particulars, as much as by Sir G. Carteret afterwards I heard, I have said in a letter to my Lord Sandwich this day at Portsmouth; it being most wholly to the utter ruin of our Royal Company, and reproach and shame to the whole nation, as well as justification to them in their doing wrong to no man as to his private property, only taking whatever is found to belong to the Company, and nothing else. Dined at the Dolphin—Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, with Sir William Boreman and Sir Theophilus Biddulph<sup>1</sup> and others, Commissioners of the Sewers, about our place below to lay masts in. But, coming a little too soon, I out again, and took boat down to Redriffe; and just in time within two minutes, and saw the new vessel of Sir William Petty's launched, the King and Duke being there. It swims and looks finely, and I believe will do well. Coming away back immediately to dinner, where a great deal of good discourse, and Sir G. Carteret's discourse of this Guinea business, with great displeasure at the loss of our honour there, and do now confess that the trade brought all these troubles upon us between the Dutch and us.

23rd. I hear the Dutch have prepared a fleet to go the back way to the Straits, where, without doubt, they will master our fleet. The King of France, they say, do declare himself obliged to defend them: and more, it is doubted whether the Swede will be our friend or no. I purpose to endeavour to be called in the morning to see the comet, though I fear we shall not see it, because it rises in the East but 16 degrees and the houses will hinder us.

24th. Having sat up all night to past two o'clock this morning, our porter, being appointed, comes and tells us that the bellman tells him that the star is seen upon Tower Hill; so I, that had been all night setting in order all my old papers in my chamber, did leave off all, and my boy and I to Tower Hill, it being a most fine, bright, moonshine night, and a great frost, but no comet to be seen. So after running once round the Hill, I and Tom, we home and then to bed. Rose about nine o'clock and then to the office. At noon to the 'Change, to the coffee-house; and there heard Sir Richard Ford tell the whole story of our defeat at Guinea, wherein our men are guilty of the most horrid cowardice

<sup>1</sup> Sir Theophilus Biddulph, of Westcombe, Kent, who had been previously knighted, was made a baronet 2nd November 1664: he was then serving in Parliament for Lichfield.

and perfidiousness, as he says and tells it, that ever Englishmen were. Captain Raynolds, that was the only commander of any of the King's ships there, was shot at by De Ruyter, with a bloody flag flying. He, instead of opposing, which, indeed, had been to no purpose, but only to maintain honour, did poorly go on board himself, to ask what De Ruyter would have, and so yield to whatever Ruyter would desire. The King and Duke are highly vexed at it, it seems, and the business deserves it. This evening I saw the comet, which now, whether worn away or no I know not, but appears not with a tail, but only is larger and duller than any other star, and is come to rise betimes, and to make a great arch, and is gone quite to a new place in the heavens than it was before: but I hope, in a clearer night, something more will be seen.

25th. (Lord's day.) To Sir W. Batten's, and by discourse receive fresh instances of Sir J. Minnes's folly in complaining to Sir G. Carteret of Sir W. Batten and me for some family offences, such as my having of a stop-cock to keep the water from them, which vexes me. To Mr. Rawlinson's church,<sup>1</sup> where I heard a good sermon of one that I remember was at Paul's with me—his name Maggett: and very great store of fine women there is in this church, more than I know anywhere else about us.

26th. To White Hall, and there with the rest did our usual business before the Duke; and then with Sir W. Batten back and to his house, where I by sickness excused my wife's coming to them to-day (my wife's eye being ill still of the blow I did in a passion give her the other day). Thence I to the coffee-house, where all the opinion now is that the Dutch will avoid fighting with us at home, but do all the hurt they can to us abroad. To Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Coventry and all our families here, women and all, and Sir R. Ford and his, and a great feast, and good discourse and merry. And so home to bed, where my wife and people innocently at cards, very merry; and I to bed, leaving them to their sport and blindman's buff.

27th. My people came to bed after their sporting at four o'clock in the morning. I up at seven, and to Deptford and Woolwich in a galley: the Duke calling me out of a barge in which the King was with him, to know whither I was going. I told him to Woolwich, but was troubled afterwards I should say no farther, being in a galley, lest he think me too profuse in my journeys. The comet appeared again tonight, but duskishly. I went to bed,

<sup>1</sup> St. Dionis Backchurch.

leaving my wife, and all her folks and Will also, to come to make Christmas gambols tonight.

28th. My wife to bed at eight o'clock in the morning, which vexed me a little: but I believe there was no hurt in it at all, but only mirth; therefore took no notice. Visited my Lady Sandwich, and was there, with her and the young ladies, playing at cards till night. Then home and to my office late, and then to bed, leaving my wife and people up to more sports, but without any great satisfaction to myself therein.

30th. To several places to pay away money, to clear myself in all the world, and, among others, paid my bookseller £6 for books I had from him this day, and the silversmith £22 18s. for spoons, forks, and sugar-box.

31st. To my accounts of the whole year till past twelve at night, it being bitter cold, but yet I was well satisfied with my work; and above all, to find myself, by the great blessing of God, worth £1349, by which, as I have spent very largely, so I have laid up above £500 this year above what I was worth this day twelvemonth. The Lord make me for ever thankful to His holy name for it! Soon as ever the clock struck one I kissed my wife in the kitchen by the fireside, wishing her a merry New Year.

So ends the old year, I bless God, with great joy to me, not only from my having made so good a year of profit, as having spent £420 and laid up £540, and upwards; but I bless God I never have been in so good plight as to my health in so very cold weather as this is, nor indeed in any hot weather, these ten years, as I am at this day, and have been these four or five months. But I am at a great loss to know whether it be my hare's foot,<sup>1</sup> or taking every morning of a pill of turpentine, or my having left off the wearing of a gown. My family is my wife, in good health, and happy with her; her woman Mercer, a pretty, modest, quiet maid; her chamber-maid Bess, her cook-maid Jane, the little girl Susan, and my boy, which I have had about half a year, Tom Edwards, which I took from the King's Chapel: and a pretty and loving quiet family I have as any man in England. My credit in the world and my office grows daily, and I am in good esteem with everybody, I think. My troubles of my uncle's estate pretty well over; but it comes to be but of little profit to us, my father being much supported by my purse. But great vexations remain upon my father and me from my brother Tom's death and ill condition, both to our

<sup>1</sup> As a charm against colic.

disgrace and discontent, though no great reason for either. Public matters are all in a hurry about a Dutch war. Our preparations great; our provocations against them great; and, after all our presumption, we are now afraid as much of them as we lately contemned them. Everything else in the State quiet, blessed be God! My Lord Sandwich at sea with the fleet, at Portsmouth; sending some about to cruise for taking of ships, which we have done to a great number. This Christmas I judged it fit to look over all my papers and books, and to tear all that I found either boyish or not to be worth keeping, or fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly. Among others, I found these two or three notes, which I thought fit to keep.

## AGE OF MY GRANDFATHER'S CHILDREN

Thomas,	1535.
Mary, March 16,	1597.
Edith, October 11,	1599.
John (my father) January 14,	1631.

My father and mother married at Newington, in Surrey, Oct. 15, 1626.

## THEIR CHILDREN'S AGES.

Mary, July 24, 1627.	<i>mort.</i> <sup>1</sup>
Paulina, Sept. 18, 1628.	<i>mort.</i>
Esther, March 27, 1630.	<i>mort.</i>
John, January 10, 1631.	<i>mort.</i>
Samuel, <sup>2</sup> Feb. 23, 1632.	
Thomas, June 12, 1634.	<i>mort.</i>
Sarah, August 28, 1635.	<i>mort.</i>
Jacob, May 1, 1637.	<i>mort.</i>
Robert, Nov. 18, 1638.	<i>mort.</i>
Paulina, Oct. 18, 1640.	
John, Nov. 26, 1641.	<i>mort.</i>

December 31, 1664.

## CHARMS

## FOR STANCHING OF BLOOD

Sanguis mane in te,  
Sicut Christus fuit in se;  
Sanguis mane in tua venâ  
Sicut Christus in suâ pœnâ;  
Sanguis mane fixus,  
Sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus.

<sup>1</sup> The word 'mort' must have been in some instances added long after the entry was first made.

<sup>2</sup> To this name is annexed the following note: 'Went to reside in Magd. Coll., Camb., and did put on my gown first, March 5, 1650-1.'

leaving my wife, and all her folks and Will also, to come to make Christmas gambols tonight.

28th. My wife to bed at eight o'clock in the morning, which vexed me a little: but I believe there was no hurt in it at all, but only mirth; therefore took no notice. Visited my Lady Sandwich, and was there, with her and the young ladies, playing at cards till night. Then home and to my office late, and then to bed, leaving my wife and people up to more sports, but without any great satisfaction to myself therein.

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<sup>1</sup> As a charm against colic.



having looked out a letter in Sir Philip Sidney about jealousy, for me to read, which she industriously and maliciously caused me to do; and the truth is my conscience told me it was most proper for me, and therefore was touched at it, but took no notice of it but read it out most frankly, but it stuck in my stomach. However, to cards with my wife a good while and then to bed.

3d. Up, and by coach to Sir Philip Warwick, the street being full of footfalls, it being a great frost, and found him and Mr. Coventry walking in St. James's Park. I did my errand to him about the felling of the King's timber in the forests, and then to my Lord of Oxford, Justice in Eyre, for his consent thereto, for want whereof my Lord Privy Seal<sup>1</sup> stops the whole business. I found him in his lodgings, in but an ordinary furnished house and room where he was, but I find him to be a man of good discreet replies. Certain news that the Dutch have taken some of our colliers to the North: some say four, some say seven. To Sir W. Batten's, who is going out of town to Harwich tomorrow to set up a lighthouse there, which he hath lately got a patent from the King to set up, that will turn much to his profit.

4th. To my Lord of Oxford's, but his Lordship was in bed at past ten o'clock: and, Lord help us! so rude a dirty family I never saw in my life. To the 'Change, where I hear of some more of our ships lost to the Northward. Mr. Moore and I to 'Love in a Tub,'<sup>2</sup> which is very merry, but only so by gesture, not wit at all, which methinks is beneath the House. I find myself, as heretofore in cold weather, to burn within and pimples and pricks all over my body, my pores with cold being shut up.

6th. Lay long in bed, but most of it angry and scolding with my wife about her warning Jane, our cook-maid, to be gone. A very good maid she is, only they say a little apt to scold, but I hear her not. Dined at home, being pretty well reconciled to my wife, which I did desire to be, because she had designed much mirth today to end Christmas with among her servants. At night home, being Twelfth Night, and there chose my piece of cake; but went up to my viol, and then to bed, leaving my wife and people up at their sports, which they continue till morning, not coming to bed at all.

8th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall Chapel, where one Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Robartes.

<sup>2</sup> *The Comical Revenge; or, Love in a Tub*; a comedy by Sir George Etherege.

Beaumont<sup>1</sup> preached a good sermon, and afterwards a brave anthem upon the 150th Psalm, where upon the word 'trumpet' very good music was made.

9th. Walked to White Hall. In my way saw a woman that broke her thigh, in her heels slipping up upon the frosty street. I saw the Royal Society bring their new book, wherein is nobly writ their charter and laws, and comes to be signed by the Duke as a Fellow; and all the Fellows' hands are to be entered there, and lie as a monument; and the King hath put his, with the word Founder.<sup>2</sup> Holmes was this day sent to the Tower, but I perceive it is made matter of jest only; but if the Dutch should be our masters, it may come to be of earnest to him, to be given over to them for a sacrifice, as Sir W. Raleigh was. To a Tangier Committee, where I was accosted and most highly complimented by my Lord Bellasis,<sup>3</sup> our new governor, beyond my expectation; and I may make good use of it. Our patent is renewed, and he and my Lord Berkeley and Sir Thomas Ingram<sup>4</sup> put in as commissioners.

11th. This evening, by a letter from Plymouth, I hear that two of our ships, the Leopard and another, in the Straits, are lost by running aground; and that three more had like to have been so, but got off, whereof Captain Allen one: and that a Dutch fleet are gone thither; and if they should meet with our lame ships, God knows what would become of them. This I reckon most sad news: God make us sensible of it! When I came home I was much troubled to hear my poor canary-bird, that I have kept these three or four years, is dead.

12th. Spoke with a Frenchman, who was taken, but released, by a Dutch man-of-war of thirty-six guns (with seven more of the like or greater ships) off the North Foreland, by Margate; which is a strange attempt, that they should come to our teeth. But the wind being easterly, the wind that should bring our force from Portsmouth will carry them away home.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Beaumont, D.D., Prebendary of Ely, and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> The book is still in use, containing the autograph of every fellow from the institution of the society to the present time.

<sup>3</sup> John Lord Belasyse, second son of Thomas Earl Fauconberg, an officer of distinction on the king's side, during the civil war. He was afterwards Governor of Tangier, and Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. Being a Catholic, the Test Act deprived him of all his appointments in 1672; but James II, in 1684, made him first Commissioner of the Treasury. *Ob.* 1689.

<sup>4</sup> Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a privy councillor: *ob.* 1671.

13th. Walked to my Lord Bellassis's lodgings in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there he received and discoursed with me, in the most respectful manner that could be, telling me what a character of my judgment, and care and love to Tangier, he had received of me; that he desired my advice and my constant correspondence, which he much valued, and my courtship: in which, though I understand his design very well, and that it is only a piece of courtship, yet it is a comfort to me that I am become so considerable as to have him need say that to me, which, if I did not do something in the world, would never have been. Yesterday's news confirmed, though in a little different manner; but a couple of ships in the Straits we have lost, and the Dutch have been in the Margate Road. To the King's House, to a play, 'The Traitor,' where, unfortunately, I met with Sir W. Pen, so that I must be forced to confess it to my wife, which troubles me. Thence walked home, being ill satisfied with the present actings of the House, and prefer the other house before this infinitely. To my Lady Batten's, where I find Pegg Pen, the first time that ever I saw her to wear spots.

14th. Our late ill news confirmed, in loss of two ships in the Straits, but are now the Phoenix and Nonesuch. With my wife to the King's house, there to see 'Volpone,'<sup>1</sup> a most excellent play; the best I think I ever saw, and well acted.

15th. (Lord's day.) Up, and after a little at my office to prepare a fresh draft of my vows for the next year, I to church, where a most insipid young coxcomb preached. After dinner, to read in Rushworth's 'Collections' about the charge against the late Duke of Buckingham,<sup>2</sup> in order to the fitting me to speak and understand the discourse anon before the King, about the suffering the Turkey merchants to send out their fleet at this dangerous time, when we can neither spare them ships to go, nor men, nor King's ships to convoy them. At four o'clock with Sir W. Pen in his coach to my Lord Chancellor's, where, by and by, Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen, Sir J. Lawson, Sir G. Ascue and myself were called in to the King, there being several of the Privy Council, and my Lord Chancellor lying at length upon a couch, of the gout, I suppose; and there Sir W. Pen spoke pretty well to dissuade the King from letting these Turkey ships go out: saying, in short, the King having resolved to have 130 ships out by the spring, he must have above 20 of them merchantmen, towards which he, in the whole River, could find but 12 or 14, and of them,

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Ben Jonson.

<sup>2</sup> On the expedition to the Île de Ré.

the five ships taken up by these merchants were a part, and so could not be spared. That we should need 30,000 sailors to man these 130 ships, and of them in service we have not above 16,000; so that we shall need 14,000 more. That these ships will, with their convoys, carry above 2,000 men, and those the best men that could be got; it being the men used to the Southward that are the best men for war, though those bred in the North, among the colliers, are good for labour. That it will not be safe for the merchants, nor honourable for the King, to expose these rich ships with his convoy of six ships to go, it not being enough to secure them against the Dutch, who, without doubt, will have a great fleet in the Straits. This Sir J. Lawson enlarged upon. Sir G. Ascue chiefly spoke that the war and trade could not be supported together. Mr. Coventry showed how the medium of the men the King hath, one year with another, employed in his Navy since his coming, hath not been above 3,000 men, or at most 4,000 men; and now, having occasion of 30,000, the remaining 26,000 must be found out of the trade of the nation. He showed how the cloths, sending by these merchants to Turkey, are already bought and paid for to the workmen, and are as many as they would send these twelve months or more; so the poor do not suffer by their not going, but only the merchant, upon whose hands they lie dead; and so the inconvenience is the less. And yet for them he propounded, either the King should, if his Treasurer would suffer it, buy them, and showed the loss would not be so great to him, or dispense with the Act of Navigation, and let them be carried out by strangers; and ending that he doubted not but when the merchants saw there was no remedy, they would and could find ways of sending them abroad to their profit. All ended with a conviction, unless future discourse with the merchants should alter it, that it was not fit for them to go out, though the ships be loaded. So we withdrew, and the merchants were called in. Staying without, my Lord FitzHarding come thither, and fell to discourse of Prince Rupert's disease,<sup>1</sup> telling the horrible degree of its breaking out on his head. He observed, also, from the Prince, that courage is not what men take it to be, a contempt of death; for, says he, how chagrined the Prince was, the other day when he thought he should die, having no more mind to it than another man. But, says he, some men are more apt to think they shall escape than another man in fight, while another is doubtful he shall be hit. But when

<sup>1</sup> Syphilis.

the first man is sure he shall die, as now the Prince is, he is as much troubled and apprehensive of it as any man else; for, says he, since we told him that we believe he would overcome his disease, he is as merry, and swears and laughs and curses, and do all the things of a man in health, as ever he did in his life; which, methought, was a most extraordinary saying, before a great many persons there of quality.

16th. Ned Pickering met me, and told me how active my Lord is at sea; and that my Lord Hinchinbroke is now at Rome, and, by all report, a very noble and hopeful gentleman. Thence to Mr. Povy's, and dined well, after his old manner of plenty and curiosity. To a Tangier Committee, where my Lord Berkeley was very violent against Povy. My Lord Ashley, I observe, is a most clear man in matters of accounts, and most ingeniously did discourse and explain all matters.

17th. To my Lord Ashley's, where to see how simply, beyond all patience, Povy did again, by his many words and non-understanding, confound himself and his business, to his disgrace, and rendering everybody doubtful of his being either a fool or a knave, is very wonderful. We broke up all dissatisfied. Here it was mighty strange to find myself sit here in Committee with my hat on, while Mr. Sherwin stood bare as a clerk, with his hat off to his Lord Ashley and the rest; but I thank God I think myself never a whit the better man for all that. Home, where a brave dinner, by having a brace of pheasants, and very merry about Povy's folly.

18th. To my bookseller's, and there did give thorough direction for the new binding of a great many of my old books, to make my whole study of the same binding, within very few.

19th. To Exeter House,<sup>1</sup> and there was a witness of most base language against Mr. Povy from my Lord Peterborough, who is most furiously angry with him, because the other, as a fool, would needs say that the £26,000 was my Lord Peterborough's account, and that he had nothing to do with it. Home by coach with my Lord Berkeley, who, by his discourse, I find do look upon Mr. Coventry as an enemy, but yet professes great justice and pains. This day was buried, but I could not be there, my cousin Percival Angier; and yesterday I received the news that Dr. Tom Pepys is dead, at Impington, for which I am but little sorry, not only because he would have been troublesome to us, but a shame to his family and profession—he was such a coxcomb.

<sup>1</sup> Where Lord Ashley then lived.

20th. To my bookseller's, and there took home Hooke's book of Microscopy, a most excellent piece, and of which I am very proud. So homeward, in my way buying a hare, and taking it home, which arose upon my discourse today with Mr. Batten, in Westminster Hall, who showed me my mistake that my hare's foot hath not the joint to it; and assures me he never had his colic since he carried it about him: and it is a strange thing how fancy works, for I no sooner almost handled his foot but I become very well, and so continue.

21st. Mr. Povy carried me to Somerset House, and there showed me the Queen-mother's chamber and closet, most beautiful places for furniture and pictures; and so down the great stone stairs to the garden, and tried the brave echo upon the stairs; which continues a voice so long as the singing three notes, concords, one after another, they all three shall sound in consort together a good while most pleasantly. Thence to a Tangier Committee, where I saw nothing ordered by judgment, but great heat and passion and faction now in behalf of my Lord Bellassis, and to the reproach of my Lord Teviot. So away with Mr. Povy—a simple fellow I now find him, to his utter shame in this business of accounts, as none but a sorry fool would have discovered himself; and yet, in little, light, sorry things, very cunning; yet, in the principal, the most ignorant man I ever met with in so great trust as he is. To bed, being now mighty well, and truly I can but impute it to my fresh hare's foot.

22d. (Lord's day.) To church. Thence home, discoursing, among other things, of a design I have come in my head this morning at church of making a match between Mrs. Betty Pickering and Mr. Hill, my friend the merchant, that loves music, and comes to me a' Sundays; a most ingenious and sweet-natured and highly accomplished person. I know not how their fortunes may agree, but their disposition and merits are much of a sort, and persons, though different, yet equally, I think, acceptable.

23d. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to White Hall; but, there finding the Duke gone to his lodgings in St. James's for altogether, his Duchess being ready to lie in, we to him, and there did our usual business. And here I met the great news confirmed by the Duke's own relation, by a letter from Captain Allen. First, of our own loss of two ships, the Phoenix and Nonesuch, in the Bay of Gibraltar: then of his and his seven ships with him, in the Bay of Cales, or thereabouts, fighting with

the 34 Dutch Smyrna fleet; sinking the King Solomon, a ship worth a £150,000 or more, some say £200,000, and another; and taking of three merchant-ships. Two of our ships were disabled by the Dutch unfortunately falling, against their will, against them; the Advice, Captain W. Poole, and Antelope, Captain Clerke. The Dutch men-of-war did little service. Captain Allen did receive many shots at distance before he would fire one gun, which he did not do till he came within pistol-shot of his enemy. The Spaniards on shore at Cales did stand laughing at the Dutch, to see them run away and flee to the shore, 34 or thereabouts, against eight Englishmen at most. I do purpose to get the whole relation, if I live, of Captain Allen himself. In our loss of the two ships in the Bay of Gibraltar, it is observable how the world do comment upon the misfortune of Captain Moone of the Nonesuch, who did lose in the same manner the Satisfaction, as a person that hath ill luck attending him; without considering that the whole fleet was ashore. Captain Allen led the way, and himself writes that all the masters of the fleet, old and young, were mistaken, and did carry their ships aground. But I think I heard the Duke say that Moone, being put into the Oxford, had in this conflict regained his credit, by sinking one and taking another. Captain Seale, of the Milford, hath done his part very well, in boarding the King Solomon, which held out half an hour after she was boarded; and his men kept her an hour after they did master her, and then she sunk, and drowned about 17 of her men.

24th. The Dutch have, by consent of all the Provinces, voted no trade to be suffered for eighteen months, but that they apply themselves wholly to the war. Home to supper, having a great cold, got on Sunday last by sitting too long with my head bare, for Mercer to comb and wash my ears.

25th. Dined upon a hare pie, very good meat. To the coffee-house, where I met Mr. Hill; and there he tells me that he is to be Assistant to the Secretary of the Prize Office, Sir Ellis Layton; which, methinks, is but something low, but perhaps may bring him something considerable. But it makes me alter my opinion of his being so rich as to make a fortune for Mrs. Pickering. Visited Sir J. Minnes, who continues ill, but he told me what a mad, freaking fellow Sir Ellis Layton hath been and is, and once at Antwerp was really mad.

27th. To my Lord Bellassis's, and so with my Lord in his coach to White Hall, and with him to my Lord Duke of Albemarle,

finding him at cards. After a few dull words or two, I away to White Hall, and there delivered a letter to the Duke about our Navy business, and thence walked up and down the gallery, talking with Mr. Slingsby, who is a very ingenious person, about the Mint. He argues, that there being £700,000 coined in the Rump time, and by all the Treasurers of that time (it being their opinion that the Rump money was in all payments, one with another, about a tenth part of all their money); then, says he to my question, the nearest guess we can make is that the money passing up and down in business is £700,000. He also made me fully understand that the old law of prohibiting bullion to be exported is, and ever was, a folly and an injury rather than good. Arguing thus, that if the exportations exceed the importations, then the balance must be brought home in money, which, when our merchants know cannot be carried out again, they will forbear to bring home in money, but let it lie abroad for trade, or keep in foreign banks: or, if our importations exceed our exportations, then, to keep credit, the merchants will and must find ways of carrying out money by stealth, which is a most easy thing to do, and is everywhere done; and, therefore the law against it signifies nothing in the world. Besides, that it is seen that where money is free, there is great plenty: where it is restrained, as here, there is great want, as in Spain.

28th. This day I received a good sum of money due to me upon one score or another from Sir G. Carteret, among others to clear all my matters about Colours,<sup>1</sup> and I find myself to have got clear, by that commodity, £50 and something more; and earned it with due pains and care, and issuing of my own money, and saved the King near £100 in it.

30th. This is solemnly kept as a fast all over the City, but I kept my house, putting my closet to rights again. To my office, and, being late at it, comes Mercer to me, to tell me that my wife was in bed and desired me to come home; for they hear, and have, night after night lately heard, noises over their head upon the leads. Now, it is strange to think how, knowing that I have a great sum of money in my house, this puts me into a most mighty affright, that for more than two hours I could not almost tell what to do or say, but feared this and that, and remembered that this evening I saw a woman and two men stand suspiciously in the entry, in the dark. I calling to them, they made me only this answer, the

<sup>1</sup> Flags.



woman saying that the men came to see her; but who she was I could not tell. The truth is, my house is mighty dangerous, having so many ways to be come to; and at my windows, over the stairs, to see who goes up and down; but, if I escape tonight, I will remedy it. God preserve us this night safe! So, at almost two o'clock, I home to my house, and, in great fear, to bed, thinking every running of a mouse really a thief; and so to sleep, very brokenly, all night long, and found all safe in the morning.

31st. To the office, and there all the afternoon late. My wife sent for me, and what was it but to tell me how Jane carries herself and I must put her away presently. But I did hear both sides and found my wife much in fault, and the ground of all the difference is my wife's fondness of Tom, to the being displeased with all the house besides to defend the boy; which vexes me, but I will cure it. Many high words between my wife and I, but the wench shall go; but I will take a course with the boy, for I fear I have spoiled him already. Thence to my accounts: the Lord be praised for what I have, which is this month come down to £1257.

February 1st. After being in bed, my people come and say there is a great stink of burning, but no smoke. We called upon Sir J. Minnes's and Sir W. Batten's people, and Griffin, and the people at the madhouse, but nothing could be found to give occasion to it. At this trouble we were till past three o'clock, and then the stink ceasing, I to sleep, and my people to bed.

3d. To Mrs. Turner's, who, I perceive, is vexed, because I do not serve her in something against the great feasting for her husband's reading,<sup>1</sup> in helping her to some good penn'orths, but I care not. She was dressing herself by the fire in her chamber, and there took occasion to show me her leg, which, indeed, is the finest I ever saw, and she not a little proud of it. So to my booksellers. My bill for the rebinding of some old books, to make them suit with my study, cost me, besides other new books in the same bill, £5; but it will be very handsome. News is come from Deal that the same day my Lord Sandwich sailed thence with the fleet, that evening some Dutch men-of-war were seen on the back side of the Goodwin, and, by all conjecture, must be seen by my Lord's fleet; which, if so, they must engage. To my uncle Wight's, where the Wights all dined; and, among the others, pretty Mrs. Margaret, who indeed is a very pretty lady; and, though by my vow it cost me 12d. a kiss after the first, yet I did adventure upon a couple.

<sup>1</sup> On appointment as Reader in Law.

So home, and among other letters found one from Jane, that is newly gone, telling me how her mistress won't pay her her quarter's wages. Then to visit my Lady Sandwich, and she discoursed largely to me her opinion of a match, if it could be thought fit by my Lord, for my lady Jemimah with Sir G. Carteret's eldest son; but I doubt he hath yet no settled estate in land. But I will inform myself and give her my opinion. Then Mrs. Pickering (after private discourse ended, we going into the other room) did, at my Lady's command, tell me the manner of a masquerade before the King and Court the other day,<sup>1</sup> where six women (my Lady Castlemaine and Duchess of Monmouth being two of them) and six men (the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Arran,<sup>2</sup> and Monsieur Blanquefort,<sup>3</sup> being three of them) in vizards, but most rich and antique dresses, did dance admirably and most gloriously. God give us cause to continue the mirth!

4th. I to the Sun behind the 'Change, to dinner to my Lord Bellassis. He told us a very handsome passage of the King's sending him his message about holding out the town of Newark, of which he was then governor for the King. This message he sent in a slug-bullet, being writ in cypher, and wrapped up in lead and swallowed. So the messenger came to my Lord, and told him he had a message from the King, but it was yet in his belly; so they did give him some physic, and out it came. This was a month before the King's flying to the Scots; and therein he told him that at such a day, the 3d or 6th of May, he should hear of his being come to the Scots, being assured by the King of France that in coming to them he should be used with all the liberty, honour, and safety that could be desired. And at the just day he did come to the Scots. He told us another odd passage: how the King having newly put out Prince Rupert of his generalship, upon some miscarriage at Bristol, and Sir Richard Willis of his governorship of Newark, at the entreaty of the gentry of the county, and put in

<sup>1</sup> i.e. yesterday.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Butler, second son of James, first Duke of Ormond, created Earl of Arran in Ireland, in 1662; and, in 1674, made Baron Butler of Weston, county Huntingdon, which honours became extinct at his death, *s.p.m.* in 1685.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Duras, Marquis de Blanquefort, naturalized 1665, and created Baron Duras, 1673, and in 1677 succeeded to the earldom of Feversham, under the limitation in the patent by which his father-in-law, who died without issue, had been raised to that title. He was afterwards made K.G. by James II, whom he had attended in the sea-fight of 1665, as captain of the guard.

my Lord Bellassis, the great officers of the King's army mutinied, and came in that manner with swords drawn, into the market-place of the town where the King was; which the King hearing, says, 'I must to horse.' And there himself personally, when everybody expected they should have been opposed, the King came, and cried to the head of the mutineers, which was Prince Rupert, 'Nephew, I command you to be gone.' So the Prince, in all his fury and discontent, withdrew, and his company scattered. In the evening was sent to by Jane that I would give her her wages. So I sent for my wife to my office and told her that rather than be talked on I would give her all her wages for this quarter coming on, though two months is behind, which vexed my wife and we begun to be angry, but I took myself up and sent her away, but was cruelly vexed in my mind that all my trouble in this world almost should arise from my disorders in my family and the indiscretion of a wife that brings me nothing almost (besides a comely person) but only trouble and discontent.

5th. (Lord's day.) Up and down to my chamber among my new books, which is now a pleasant sight to me to see my whole study almost of one binding.

6th. Ended my contract with Kingfisher hired for Tangier, and I hope to get something by it. With Sir W. Warren, and have concluded a firm league with him in all just ways to serve him and myself all I can, and I think he will be a most useful and thankful man to me. Home, it being one of the coldest days, all say, they ever felt in England; and I this day under great apprehension of getting an ague from my putting a suit on that has lain by without airing a great while.

7th. At home to dinner. It being Shrove Tuesday, had some very good fritters. This day Sir W. Batten, who hath been sick four or five days, is now very bad, so as the people begin to fear his death; and I at a loss whether it will be better for me to have him die, because he is a bad man, or live, for fear a worse should come.

9th. Sir William Petty tells me, that Mr. Barlow<sup>1</sup> is dead; for which, God knows my heart, I could be as sorry as is possible for one to be for a stranger, by whose death he gets £100 per annum.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Barlow, Pepys's predecessor as Clerk of the Acts, to whom he paid part of the salary. Barlow had previously been secretary to Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, when High Admiral.

10th. To Paul's Church-yard, there to see the last of my books new bound: among others, my 'Court of King James,' and 'The Rise and Fall of the Family of the Stewards'; and much pleased I am now with my study; it being, methinks, a beautiful sight. In Mr. Grey's coach to Westminster, where I heard that yesterday the King met the Houses to pass the great bill for £2,500,000.

12th. To church, to St. Lawrence, to hear Dr. Wilkins, the great scholar, for curiosity, I having never heard him: but was not satisfied with him at all. I was well pleased with the church—it being a very fine church.

13th. On board Sir W. Petty's Experiment, which is a fine roomy vessel, and I hope may do well. So went on shore to a Dutch house, and there light upon some Dutchmen, with whom we had good discourse, touching stoving<sup>1</sup> and making of cables. But to see how despicably they speak of us for using so many hands more to do anything than they do—they closing a cable with 20, that we use 60 men upon. Captain Stokes, it seems, is at last dead at Portsmouth.

14th. (St. Valentine.) This morning comes betimes Dick Pen, to be my wife's Valentine, and came to our bedside. By the same token, I had him brought to my side, thinking to have made him kiss me; but he perceived me, and would not; so went to his Valentine: a notable, stout, witty boy. My Lord Sandwich is, it seems, with his fleet at Aldbrough Bay.

15th. At noon with Creed to the Trinity House, where a very good dinner among the old soakers, and an extraordinary discourse of the manner of the loss of the *Royal Oak*,<sup>2</sup> coming home from Bantam, upon the rocks of Scilly. Thence with Creed to Gresham College, where I had been by Mr. Povy the last week proposed to be admitted a member; and was this day admitted by signing a book and being taken by the hand by the President, my Lord Brouncker, and some words of admittance said to me.<sup>3</sup> But it is a most acceptable thing to hear their discourse and see their experiments, which were this day upon the nature of fire, and how it goes out in a place where the air is not free, and sooner out where the air is exhausted, which they showed by an engine on purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Stoving, in sail-making, is the heating of the bolt-ropes, so as to make them pliable.

<sup>2</sup> For the relation of the loss of the *Royal Oak*, see Rawlinson, A 195, fol. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Pepys was afterwards president. His portrait, by Kneller, presented by himself, is still to be seen in the great room of the society.

After this being done, they to the Crown tavern behind the 'Change, and there my Lord and most of the company to a club supper: Sir P. Neale, Sir R. Murray,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Clerke, Dr. Whistler, Dr. Goddard,<sup>2</sup> and others of the most eminent worth. Above all, Mr. Boyle was at the meeting, and above him Mr. Hooke,<sup>3</sup> who is the most, and promises the least, of any man in the world that ever I saw. Here excellent discourse till ten at night, and then home.

16th. To White Hall, where a Committee of Tangier. But, Lord! to see what a degree of contempt, nay, scorn, Mr. Povy, through his prodigious folly, hath brought on himself in his accounts, that if he be not a man of a great interest, he will be kicked out of his employment for a fool. Mrs. Hunt dined with me, and poor Mrs. Batten, who brought her little daughter with her, and a letter from her husband, wherein, as a token, the fool presents me very seriously with his daughter for me to take the charge of bringing up for him and to make my own. But I took no notice to her at all of the substance of the letter.

17th. Povy told me, as I knew already, how he was handled the other day, and is still, by my Lord Berkeley; and, among other things, tells me, what I did not know, how my Lord Berkeley will say openly that he hath fought more set fields than any man in England hath done.

18th. At noon, to the Royal Oak tavern in Lombard Street, where Sir William Petty and the owners of the double-bottomed boat, the Experiment, did entertain my Lord Brouncker, Sir R. Murray, myself, and others with marrow-bones and a chine of beef, of the victuals they have made for this ship; and excellent company and good discourse: but, above all, I do value Sir William Petty. Thence home, and took my Lord Sandwich's draft of the harbour of Portsmouth down to Ratcliffe, to one Burston, to make a plate for the King, and another for the Duke, and another for himself; which will be very neat. My Lord Sandwich and his fleet of twenty-five ships in the Downs returned from cruising, but could not meet with any Dutchmen.

19th. Lay in bed, it being Lord's day, all the morning, talking

<sup>1</sup> One of the founders of the Royal Society, made a privy councillor for Scotland after the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Goddard, M.D., F.R.S. He had been physician to Cromwell, and was M.P. for Oxfordshire in 1653.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Robert Hooke, Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, and curator of the Experiments to the Royal Society, of which he was one of the earliest and most distinguished members. *Ob.* 3rd March 1703.

with my wife, sometimes pleased, sometimes displeased, and then up to dinner. Hearing by accident of my maids their letting in a roguing Scotch woman that haunts the office, to help them to wash and scour in our house, and that very lately, I fell mightily out, and made my wife, to the disturbance of the house and neighbours, to beat our little girl; and then we shut her down into the cellar, and there she lay all night.

20th. Rode into the beginning of my Lord Chancellor's new house, near St. James's: which common people have already called Dunkirk House, from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that town. And very noble I believe it will be. Near that is my Lord Berkeley beginning another on one side, and Sir J. Denham on the other. To the Sun tavern, where we dined merry, but my club and the rest come to 7s. 6d., which was too much. My wife tells me that she has hired a chamber-maid, one of the prettiest maids that ever she saw in her life, and that she is really jealous of me for her, but has ventured to hire her from month to month; but I think she means merrily.

21st. My wife busy in going with her woman to a hot-house to bathe herself, after her long being within doors in the dirt, so that she now pretends to a resolution of being hereafter very clean. How long it will hold I can guess. I dined with Sir W. Batten and my Lady, they being nowadays very fond of me. My Lady Sandwich tells me how my Lord Castlemaine is coming over from France, and is believed will be made friends with his Lady again. What mad freaks the Maids of Honour at Court have: that Mrs. Jennings,<sup>1</sup> one of the Duchess's maids, the other day dressed herself like an orange wench, and went up and down and cried oranges; till, falling down, or by some accident, her fine shoes were discerned, and she put to a great deal of shame; that such as these tricks, being ordinary, and worse among them, thereby few will venture upon them for wives. My Lady Castlemaine will in merriment say that her daughter, not above a year old or two, will be the first maid in the Court that will be married. This day my Lord Sandwich writ me word from the Downs that he is like to be in town this week.

<sup>1</sup> Frances, daughter of Richard Jennings, Esq., of Sundridge, near St. Albans, and eldest sister of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, married, first, George Hamilton, afterwards knighted, and in the French service; and, secondly, Richard Talbot, created Duke of Tyrconnel. She died in Ireland in 1730.

22d. At noon at the 'Change, busy; where great talk of a Dutch ship in the North put on shore, and taken by a troop of horse.

23d. This day, by the blessing of Almighty God, I have lived thirty-two years in the world, and am in the best degree of health at this minute that I have been almost in my lifetime, and at this time in the best condition of estate that ever I was in—the Lord make me thankful.

24th. All the morning upon advising with some fishermen and the Water Bailiff of the City touching the protections that are desired for the fishermen upon the river; and I am glad of the occasion to make me understand something of it.

25th. At noon to the 'Change; where, just before I come, the Swede that had told the King and the Duke so boldly a great lie of the Dutch flinging our men back to back into the sea at Guinea, so particularly and readily and confidently, was whipped round the 'Change: he confessing it a lie, and that he did it in hopes to get something. It is said the Judges, upon demand, did give it their opinion that the law would judge him to be whipped, to lose his ears, or to have his nose slit: but I do not hear that anything more is to be done to him. They say he is delivered over to the Dutch Ambassador to do what he pleased with him. To the Sun tavern, and there dined with Sir W. Batten and Mr. Gifford, the merchant: and I hear how Nicholas Colborne, that lately lived and got a great estate there, is gone to live like a prince in the country, and that this Wadloe, that did the like at the Devil<sup>1</sup> by St. Dunstan's, did go into the country, and there spent almost all he had got, and hath now choused this Colborne of his house, that he might come to his old trade again. But, Lord! to see how full the house is, no room for any company almost to come into it. Late home, and to clean myself with warm water: my wife will have me, because she do herself.

27th. To a Committee of the Council, to discourse concerning pressing of men; but, Lord! how they meet! never sit down: one comes, now another goes, then comes another; one complaining that nothing is done, another swearing that he hath been there these two hours and nobody come. At last my Lord Anglesey says, 'I think we must be forced to get the King to come to every Committee; for I do not see that we do anything at any time but when

<sup>1</sup> The Devil tavern stood between Temple Bar and the Middle Temple Gate, nearly opposite to St. Dunstan's Church.

he is here.' And I believe he said the truth: and very constant he is on Council-day, which his predecessors, it seems, very rarely were. To Sir Philip Warwick's; and there he did contract with me a kind of friendship and freedom of communication, wherein he assures me to make me understand the whole business of the Treasurer of the Navy, that I shall know as well as Sir G. Carteret what money he hath; and will needs have me come to him sometimes, or he meet me, to discourse of things tending to the serving the King: and I am mighty proud and happy in becoming so known to such a man. And I hope shall pursue it.

28th. Taking my wife's kitchen accounts, and there found 7s. wanting, which did occasion a very high falling out between us, I, indeed, too angrily insisting upon so poor a thing, and did give her very provoking words, calling her 'beggar' and reproaching her friends, which she took very stomachfully and reproached me justly with mine. I find she is very cunning, and, when she least shows it, has her wit at work; but it is an ill one, but I think not so bad but with good usage I might well bear with it. And the truth is I do find my being over-solicitous and jealous and froward and ready to reproach her do make her worse. However, I find that now and then a little difference do no hurt. We parted after many high words very angry, and I to my office to my month's accounts, and find myself worth £1270, for which the Lord God be praised!

March 1st. Being the day that by a promise, a great while ago made to my wife, I was to give her £20 to lay out in clothes against Easter, I did boggle mightily at the parting with my money, but at last did give it her, and then she abroad to buy her things. To Gresham College, where Mr. Hooke read a second very curious lecture about the late comet; among other things, proving very probably that this is the very same comet that appeared before in the year 1618, and that in such a time probably it will appear again, which is a very new opinion; but all will be in print. Then to the meeting, where Sir G. Carteret's two sons, his own, and Sir N. Slanning,<sup>1</sup> were admitted of the Society: and this day I did pay my admission money, 40s., to the Society. Here was very fine discourses and experiments, but I do lack philosophy enough to understand them, and so cannot remember them. Among others, a very particular account of the making of the several sorts of bread in France, which is accounted the best place for bread in the world.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas Slanning, K.B., married a daughter of Sir George Carteret.



2d. Began this day to rise betimes before six o'clock, and going down to call my people, found Bess and the girl with their clothes on, lying within their bedding upon the ground close by the fire-side, and a candle burning all night, pretending they would rise to scour. This vexed me, but Bess is going, and so she will not trouble me long.

3d. To see Mrs. Turner, who takes it mightily ill I did not come to dine with the Reader, her husband, which, she says, was the greatest feast that ever was yet kept by a Reader, and I believe it was well. But I am glad I did not go, which confirms her in an opinion that I am grown proud.

4th. William Howe came to see me, being come up with my Lord from sea: he is grown a discreet but very conceited fellow. He tells me how little respectfully Sir W. Pen did carry it to my Lord on board the Duke's ship at sea: and that Captain Minnes, a favourite of Prince Rupert's, do show my Lord little respect; but that everybody else esteems my Lord as they ought. This day was proclaimed at the 'Change the war with Holland.

5th. (Lord's day.) To my Lord Sandwich's, and dined with my Lord, it being the first time he hath dined at home since his coming from sea; and a pretty odd demand it was of my Lord to my Lady before me: 'How do you, sweetheart? How have you done all this week?' himself taking notice of it to me that he had hardly seen her the week before. At dinner he did use me with the greatest solemnity in the world, in carving for me and nobody else, and calling often to my Lady to cut for me; and all the respect possible.

6th. With Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, and there did our business with the Duke. Great preparations for his speedy return to sea. I saw him try on his buff coat and hat-piece covered with black velvet. It troubles me more to think of his venture than of anything else in the whole war. Thence home to dinner, where I saw Bess go away, she having, of all wenches that ever lived with us, received the greatest love and kindness, and good clothes besides wages, and gone away with the greatest ingratitude. I then abroad and so home where I find our new chamber-maid, Mary, come, which instead of handsome, as my wife spoke and still seems to reckon, is a very ordinary wench, I think, and therein was mightily disappointed.

8th. This morning is brought me to the office the sad news of the London, in which Sir J. Lawson's men were all bringing her

from Chatham to the Hope, and thence he was to go to sea in her; but a little on this side the buoy of the Nore she suddenly blew up. About twenty-four men and a woman that were in the round-house and coach saved; the rest, being above 300, drowned: the ship breaking all in pieces, with 80 pieces of brass ordnance. She lies sunk, with her round-house above water. Sir J. Lawson hath a great loss in this of so many good chosen men, and many relations among them. I went to the 'Change, where the news taken very much to heart. To Gresham College, and there saw several pretty experiments.

9th. At Paul's school, where I visited Mr. Crumlum at his house; and, Lord! to see how ridiculous a conceited pedagogue he is, though a learned man, he being so dogmatical in all he do and says. But, among other discourse, we fell to the old discourse of Paul's School; and he did, upon my declaring my value of it, give me one of Lilly's grammars of a very old impression, as it was in the Catholic times, which I shall much set by. This night my wife had a new suit of flowered ash-coloured silk, very noble.

10th. At noon to the 'Change, where very hot, people's proposal of the City giving the King another ship for the London, that is lately blown up; which would be very handsome, and, if well managed, might be done; but, I fear, if it be put into ill hands, or that the courtiers do solicit it, it will never be done. To the Committee of Tangier at White Hall, where my Lord Berkeley, and Craven, and others; but, Lord! to see how superficially things are done in the business of the Lottery, which will be the disgrace of the Fishery and without profit.

11th. This day returned Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes from Lee Road, where they have been to see the wreck of the London, out of which, they say, the guns may be got, but the hull of her will be wholly lost, as not being capable of being weighed.

12th. (Lord's day.) Borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, to my Lord Sandwich's, but he was gone abroad. I sent the coach back for my wife, my Lord a second time dining at home on purpose to meet me, he having not dined once at home, but those times, since his coming from sea. I sat down, and read over the Bishop of Chichester's sermon upon the anniversary of the King's death—much cried up, but methinks but a mean sermon. Down to dinner, where my wife in her new lace whisk, which indeed is very noble, and I am much pleased with it, and so my Lady also. Here very pleasant my Lord was at dinner; and after dinner did look

over his plate, which Burston hath brought him today, and is the last of the three that he will have made. After much discourse with my Lady about Sir G. Carteret's son, of whom she hath some thoughts for a husband for my Lady Jemimah, we away home by coach again.

13th. Up betimes this morning, the first morning of my promise upon a forfeit not to lie in bed a quarter of an hour after my first waking. To St. James's, and there much business, the King also being with us a great while. This day my wife begun to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet, not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them. This day I saw my Lord Castlemaine at St. James's, lately come from France.

14th. Dined with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes at the Tower, with Sir J. Robinson, at a farewell dinner which he gives Major Holmes at his going out of the Tower, where he hath for some time, since his coming from Guinea, been a prisoner,<sup>1</sup> and it seems, had presented the Lieutenant with fifty pieces yesterday. Here a great deal of good victuals and company.

15th. Home to dinner, where my wife being gone down, upon a sudden warning from my Lord Sandwich's daughters, to the Hope with them to see the Prince, I dined alone. Anon to Gresham College, where, among other good discourse, there was tried the great poison of Macassar<sup>2</sup> upon a dog, but it had no effect all the time we sat there.

16th. At noon home to dinner, where my wife told me the unpleasant journey she had yesterday among the children, whose fear upon the water and folly made it very unpleasing to her. This afternoon, Mr. Harris, the sail-maker, sent me a noble present of two large silver candlesticks and snuffers, and a slice to keep them upon, which indeed is very handsome. At night came Mr. Andrews with £36, the further fruits of my Tangier contract.

17th. This night my Lady Wood died of the small-pox, and is much lamented among the great persons for a good-natured woman and a good wife. The Duke did give us some commands, and so broke up, not taking leave of him. But the best piece of news is that, instead of a great many troublesome Lords, the whole business is to be left with the Duke of Albemarle to act as Admiral in his stead; which is a thing that do cheer my heart, for the other would have vexed us with attendance, and never done the business.

<sup>1</sup> For taking New York from the Dutch.

<sup>2</sup> The upas-tree.

Povy and I by water to London together. In the way, of his own accord, he proposed to me that he would surrender his place of Treasurer<sup>1</sup> to me to have half the profit. The thing is new to me, but the more I think, the more I like it, and do put him upon getting it done by the Duke.

18th. Povy acquainted me before Creed what he had done in speaking to the Duke and others about his making me Treasurer, and has carried it a great way, so as I think it cannot well be set back. Creed, I perceive, envies me in it.

19th. (Lord's day.) Mr. Povy sent his coach for me betimes, and I to him, and there, to our great trouble, do find that my Lord FitzHarding do appear for Mr. Brouncker to be Paymaster upon Povy's going out, by a former promise of the Duke's, and offering to give as much as any for it. This put us all into a great dump; and so we went to Creed's new lodging in the Mews, and there we found Creed with his parrot upon his shoulder, which struck Mr. Povy coming by just by the eye, very deep, which, had it hit his eye, had put it out. At last, I to Mr. Coventry, and there had his most friendly and ingenuous advice, advising me not to decline the thing, it being that that will bring me to be known to great persons, while now I am buried among three or four of us, says he, in the Navy; but do not make a declared opposition to my Lord FitzHarding. Then to my Lord Sandwich's to dinner, and after dinner to Mr. Povy's, who hath been with the Duke of York, and, by the mediation of Mr. Coventry, the Duke told him that the business shall go on, and he will take off Brouncker; and my Lord FitzHarding is quiet, too. Mr. Povy and I in his coach to Hyde Park, being the first day of the tour there: where many brave ladies, among others Castlemaine lay impudently upon her back in her coach asleep, with her mouth open. There was also my lady Carnegie,<sup>2</sup> once my Lady Anne Hamilton. Here I saw Sir J. Lawson's daughter and husband, a fine couple, and also Mr. Southwell and his new lady, very pretty. Thence back, putting in at Dr. Whore's, where I saw his lady, a very fine woman.

20th. Creed and I had Mr. Povy's coach sent for us; and we to his house, where we did some business in order to the work of this day. Povy and I to my Lord Sandwich, who tells me that the

<sup>1</sup> For Tangier.

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of William, Duke of Hamilton, wife of Lord Carnegie, who became Earl of Southesk on his father's death.

Duke is not only a friend to the business, but to me, in terms of the greatest love and respect and value of me that can be thought, which overjoys me. Thence to St. James's, and there was in great doubt of Brouncker; but at last I hear that Brouncker desists. The Duke did direct Secretary Bennet to declare his mind to the Tangier Committee, that he approves of me for Treasurer; and with a character of me to be a man whose industry and discretion he would trust soon as any man's in England; and did the like to my Lord Sandwich. So to White Hall, to the Committee of Tangier, where there were present my Lord of Albemarle, my Lord Peterborough, Sandwich, Berkeley, FitzHarding, Secretary Bennet, Sir Thomas Ingram, Sir John Lawson, Povy, and I; where, after other business, Povy did declare his business very handsomely; that he was sorry he had been so unhappy in his accounts, as not to give their Lordships the satisfaction he intended, and that he was sure his accounts were right, and continues to submit them to examination, and is ready to lay down in ready money the fault of his account; and that for the future, that the work might be better done and with more quiet to him, he desired, by approbation of the Duke, he might resign his place to Mr. Pepys. Whereupon, Secretary Bennet did deliver the Duke's command, which was received with great content and allowance beyond expectation; the Secretary repeating also the Duke's character of me. And I could discern my Lord FitzHarding was well pleased with me, and signified full satisfaction, and whispered something seriously of me to the Secretary. And there I received their constitution under all their hands presently: so that I am already confirmed their Treasurer, and put into a condition of striking of tallies: and all without one harsh word of dislike, but quite the contrary; which is a good fortune beyond all imagination. Here we rose, and Povy and Creed and I, all full of joy, thence to dinner, they setting me down at Sir J. Winter's by promise, and dined with him, and a worthy fine man he seems to be, and of good discourse; and a fine thing it is to see myself come to the condition of being received by persons of this rank, he being, and having long been, Secretary to the Queen-mother. News is this day come of Captain Allen's being come home from the Straits, as far as Portland, with eleven of the King's ships, and about twenty-two of merchantmen.

21st. My tailor coming to me, did consult all my wardrobe, how to order my clothes against next summer. Late at my office, then

home and there found a couple of state-cups, very large, coming, I suppose, to about £6 a piece, from Burrows, the slopseller.

22d. To Mr. Houlbon's,<sup>1</sup> the merchant, where Sir William Petty and abundance of most ingenious men, owners and freighters of the Experiment, now going with her two bodics to sea. Most excellent discourse. Sir William Petty did tell me that in good earnest he hath in his will <sup>2</sup> left such parts of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. As, among others, that could discover truly the way of milk coming into the breasts of a woman; and he that could invent proper characters to express to another the mixture of relishes and tastes. And says that to him that invents gold he gives nothing for the philosopher's stone; for, says he, they that find out that will be able to pay themselves. But, says he, by this means it is better than to give to a lecture; for here my executors, that must part with this, will be sure to be well convinced of the invention before they do part with their money. After dinner Mr. Hill took me with Mrs. Houlbon,<sup>3</sup> who is a fine gentlewoman, into another room, and there made her sing, which she do very well, to my great content. Then to Gresham College, and there did see a kitling killed almost quite, but that we could not quite kill her, with such a way: the air out of a receiver, wherein she was put, and then the air being let in upon her, revives her immediately—nay, and this air is to be made by putting together a liquor and some body that ferments—the steam of that do do the work. Thence to St. James's wherein these things fell out: (1) I saw the Duke, kissed his hand, and had his most kind expressions of his value and opinion of me, which comforted me above all things in the world; (2) the like from Mr. Coventry most heartily and affectionately; (3) saw, among other fine ladies, Mrs. Middleton,<sup>4</sup> a very great beauty; (4) I saw Waller,<sup>5</sup> the poet, whom I never saw before.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich, who follows the Duke this day by

<sup>1</sup> James Houlbon, an eminent London merchant, remarkable for his piety and plainness: *ob.* 1682. Two of his sons rose to great wealth, and became knights and aldermen. Sir James Houlbon served in Parliament for his native city. Sir John was lord mayor in 1695, and at the same time a Lord of the Admiralty and governor of the bank.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of Sir William Petty's will, dated 1685, is in the British Museum, Additional MSS., No. 15858, fol. 109.

<sup>3</sup> The wife of James Houlbon, Mary Ducane. They were married 11th November 1620, and had twelve children.

<sup>4</sup> Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Needham.

Edmund Waller.

water down to the Hope, where the Prince lies. He received me, busy as he was, with mighty kindness and joy at my promotions; telling me most largely how the Duke hath expressed on all occasions his good opinion of my service and love for me. I paid my thanks and acknowledgment to him; and so back home, where at the office all the morning.

24th. To Povy's, and there delivered him his letters of greatest import to him that is possible, yet dropped by young Bland, just come from Tangier, upon the road by Sittingbourne, taken up and sent to Mr. Pett, at Chatham. Thus everything done by Povy is done with a fatal folly and neglect. To my Lady Sandwich's, where my wife all this day, having kept Good Friday very strict with fasting. Here we supped, and talked very merry. My Lady alone with me, very earnest about Sir G. Carteret's son, with whom I perceive they do desire my Lady Jemimah may be matched.

25th. (Lady day.) This afternoon of a sudden is come home Sir W. Pen from the fleet, upon what score I know not.

26th. (Lord's day and Easter day.) With my wife to church. Home to dinner, my wife and I, Mercer staying the Sacrament alone. This is the day seven years which, by the blessing of God, I have survived of my being cut of the stone, and am now in very perfect good health, and have long been; and though the last winter hath been as hard a winter as any have been these many years, yet I never was better in my life, nor have not, these ten years, gone colder in the summer than I have done all this winter, wearing only a doublet, and a waistcoat cut open on the back; abroad, a cloak, and within doors a coat I slipped on. Now I am at a loss to know whether it be my hare's foot which is my preservative against wind; for I never had a fit of the colic since I wore it, or whether it be my taking of a pill of turpentine every morning.

27th. Up betimes to Mr. Povy's, and there did sign and seal my agreement with him about my place of being Treasurer for Tangier. Thence to the Duke of Albemarle, the first time that we officers of the Navy have waited upon him since the Duke of York's going, who hath deputed him to be Admiral in his absence; and I find him a quiet heavy man, that will help business when he can and hinder nothing. I did afterwards alone give him thanks for his favour to me about my Tangier business, which he received kindly, and did speak much of his esteem of me. Thence, and did the same to Sir H. Bennet, who did the like to me very fully. To my Lord Peterborough's, where Povy, Creed, Williamson,

Auditor Beale, and myself; and mighty merry to see how plainly my Lord and Povy did abuse one another about their accounts, each thinking the other a fool, and I thinking they were not either of them, in that point, much in the wrong, though in everything, and even in this manner of reproaching one another, very witty and pleasant. Among other things, we had here the genteelst dinner and the neatest house that I have seen many a day, and the latter beyond anything I ever saw in a nobleman's house. Thence visited my Lord Berkeley, and he mighty friendly to me about the same business of Tangier. He said that the Parliament must be called again soon, and more money raised, not by tax, for he said he believed the people could not pay it, but he would have either a general excise upon everything, or else that every city incorporate should pay a toll into the King's revenue, as he says it is in all the cities in the world; for here a citizen hath no more laid on than their neighbours in the country, whereas, as a city, it ought to pay considerably to the King for their charter; but I fear this will breed ill blood.

28th. At night supped with my wife at Sir W. Pen's, who is to go back for good and all to the fleet tomorrow.

29th. Drawing up a proposal for Captain Taylor, for him to deliver to the City about his building the new ship, which I have done well, and I hope will do the business.

30th. To the Tangier Committee, where, Lord! to see how they did run into the giving Sir J. Lawson £4000 about his Mole business, and were going to give him 4s. per yard more, but the latter by chance was stopped.

31st. To visit my Lord of Falmouth,<sup>1</sup> who did also receive me pretty civilly, but not as I expected; he, I perceive, believing that I had undertaken to justify Povy's accounts, taking them upon myself; but I rectified him therein. At night to my office and there made up my month's accounts, which, God be praised, rose to £1300. I find Creed mightily transported by my Lord of Falmouth's kind words to him, and saying that he hath a place in his intention for him, which he believes will be considerable. A witty man he is in every respect, but of no good nature, nor a man ordinarily to be dealt with. My Lady Castlemaine is sick again—people think, slipping her filly.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord FitzHarding had just been advanced to the earldom of Falmouth.

<sup>2</sup> This did not occur, for George Fitzroy, created Duke of Northumberland, was born 28th September following.



April 1st. Dining at Captain Cocke's, in Broad Street, very merry. Among other tricks, there did come a blind fiddler to the door, and Sir G. Carteret did go to the door and lead the blind fiddler by the hand in. Thence with Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes to my Lord Treasurer, and there did lay open the expense for the six months past, and an estimate of the seven months to come, to November next; the first arising to above £500,000, and the latter will, as we judge, come to above £1,000,000. But to see how my Lord Treasurer did bless himself, crying he could do no more than he could, nor give more money than he had, if the occasion and expense were never so great, which is but a sad story. At my office late writing letters till ready to drop down asleep with my late sitting and running up and down a-days. So to bed.

3d. To a play at the Duke's, of my Lord Orrery's, called 'Mustapha,'<sup>1</sup> which, being not good, made Betterton's part and Ianthe's but ordinary too. All the pleasure of the play was, the King and my Lady Castlemaine were there; and pretty witty Nell,<sup>2</sup> at the King's House, and the younger Marshall sat next us; which pleased me mightily.

4th. To the 'Change to buy a pair of cotton stockings, which I did at the husband's shop of the most pretty woman there, who did also invite me to buy some linen of her; and I was glad of the occasion, and bespoke some bands of her, intending to make her my seamstress, she being one of the prettiest and most modest looked women that ever I did see.

5th. This day was kept publicly, by the King's command, as a fast day against the Dutch war. To Woolwich and Deptford, where did a very great deal of business, and then home, and there by promise find Creed: and he and my wife, and Mercer and I, by coach to take the air; and, where we had formerly been, at Hackney, did there eat some pullets we carried with us, and some things of the house. And after a game or two at shuffle-board, home, and Creed lay with me; but, being sleepy, he had no mind to talk about business, which indeed I intended by inviting him to lie with me; and so to bed, he and I, to sleep, being the first time I have been so much at my ease and taken so much fresh air these many weeks or months.

6th. Attended the Duke of Albemarle about the business of

<sup>1</sup> There was another tragedy of this name, by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke.

<sup>2</sup> Nell Gwynn.

*April 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

money. I also went to Jervas's, my barber, for my periwig that was mending there. Great talk of a new comet: and it is certain one do appear as bright as the late one at the best; but I have not seen it myself.

7th. To the Duke of Albemarle about money to be got for the Navy, or else we must shut up shop. Sir Philip Warwick did show me nakedly the King's condition for money for the Navy; and he do assure me, unless the King can get some noblemen or rich money-gentlemen to lend him money, or to get the City to do it, it is impossible to find money: we having already, as he says, spent one year's share of the three-years' tax, which comes to £2,500,000.

8th. To the Old Exchange, and there, of my new pretty seamstress, bought four bands. The French Ambassadors<sup>1</sup> are come incognito before their train, which will, hereafter, be very pompous. It is thought they come to get our King to join with the King of France, in helping him against Flanders, and they to do the like to us against Holland. We have lain a good while with a good fleet at Harwich. The Dutch not said yet to be out. We, as high as we make our show, I am sure, are unable to set out another small fleet if this should be worsted. Wherefore, God send us peace! I cry.

9th. (Lord's day.) To church with my wife in the morning, in her new light-coloured silk gown, which is, with her new point, very noble. In the afternoon to Fenchurch, the little church in the middle of Fenchurch Street, where a very few people, and few of any rank.

10th. Captain Cooke met me, and did seem discontented about my boy Tom's having no time to mind his singing nor lute, which I answered him fully in, that he desired me that I would baste his coat. My Lord Brouncker took me and Sir Thomas Harvey in his coach to the Park, which is very troublesome with the dust; and ne'er a great beauty there today but Mrs. Middleton.

11th. At noon dined at the Sun, behind the 'Change, with Sir Edward Dering<sup>2</sup> and his brother and Commissioner Pett, we having made a contract with Sir Edward this day about timber.

<sup>1</sup> The French ambassadors were Henri de Bourbon, Duc de Verneuil, natural son of Henry IV and brother of Henrietta Maria, and M. de Courtin.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Dering, of Surrenden Dering, Kent, which county he represented frequently in Parliament. He was the second baronet of his family, and sometime one of the Lords of the Treasury. He died in 1684.

12th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, contrary to all expectation, my Lord Ashley, being vexed with Povy's accounts, did propose it as necessary that Povy should be still continued Treasurer of Tangier till he had made up his accounts; and with such arguments as, I confess, I was not prepared to answer, but by putting off of the discourse, and so, I think, brought it right again, but it troubled me. Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvey, and myself down to my Lord Treasurer's chamber to him and the Chancellor and the Duke of Albemarle; and there I did give them a large account of the charge of the Navy, and want of money. But strange to see how they held up their hands, crying, 'What shall we do?' Says my Lord Treasurer, 'Why, what means all this, Mr. Pepys? This is all true, you say; but what would you have me to do? I have given all I can for my life. Why will not people lend their money? Why will they not trust the King as well as Oliver? Why do our prizes come to nothing, that yielded so much heretofore?' And this was all we could get, and went away without other answer, which is one of the saddest things that, at such a time as this, with the greatest action on foot that ever was in England, nothing should be minded, but let things go on of themselves, and do as well as they can. So home, vexed; and going to my Lady Batten's, there found a great many women with her in her chamber, merry—my Lady Pen and her daughter, among others, where my Lady Pen flung me down upon the bed, and herself and others, one after another, upon me, and very merry we were.

13th. To Sheriff Waterman's,<sup>1</sup> to dinner, all of us men of the office in town, and our wives, my Lady Carteret and daughters, and Ladies Batten, Pen, and my wife, &c.; and very good cheer we had, and merry music at and after dinner, and a fellow danced a jig: but, when the company begun to dance, I come away, lest I should be taken out; and God knows how my wife carried herself, but I left her to try her fortune.

14th. Up, and betimes to Mr. Povy, being desirous to have an end of my trouble of mind touching my Tangier business, whether he hath any desire of accepting what my Lord Ashley offered, of his becoming Treasurer again; and there I did, with a seeming most generous spirit, offer him to take it back again upon his own terms; but he did answer to me that he would not, above all things

<sup>1</sup> George Waterman, sheriff of London, afterwards knighted, and lord mayor 1672.

in the world, at which I was for the present satisfied. But, going away thence and speaking with Creed, he puts me in doubt that the very nature of the thing will require that he be put in again; and did give me the reasons of the auditors, which, I confess, are so plain, that I know not how to withstand them. But he did give me most ingenious advice what to do in it, and anon, my Lord Berkeley and some of the Commissioners coming together, though not in a meeting, I did procure that they should order Povy's payment of his remain of accounts to me; which order, if it do pass, will put a good stop to the fastening of the thing upon me. Called my wife, and with her through the City, to Mile End Green, and eat some cream and cakes, and so back home. This morning I was saluted with news that the fleets, ours and the Dutch, were engaged, and that the guns were heard at Walthamstow to play all yesterday, and that Captain Teddiman's legs were shot off in the Royal Katherine. But before night I heard the contrary, both by letters of my own and messengers thence, that they were all well of our side, and no enemy appears yet, and that the Royal Katherine is come to the fleet, and likely to prove as good a ship as any the King hath, of which I am heartily glad, both for Christopher Pett's sake and Captain Teddiman that is in her.

16th. (Lord's day.) I walked to the Rolls' Chapel, expecting to hear the great Stillingfleet<sup>1</sup> preach, but he did not; but a very sorry fellow, which vexed me. Captain Taylor, my old acquaintance at Westminster, supped with me, and a good understanding man he is, and a good scholar; and, among other things, a great antiquary. He can, as he says, show the very original Charter to Worcester, of King Edgar's,<sup>2</sup> wherein he styles himself, Rex Marium Britanniae, &c.; which is the great text that Mr. Selden and others do quote, but imperfectly and upon trust. But he hath the very original, which, he says, he will show me. This night

<sup>1</sup> Edward Stillingfleet, the learned divine, consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 1689: *ob.* 1699.

<sup>2</sup> This is the celebrated *Charta Eadgari R. de Oswaldslawe*, dated Gloucester, 28th December 964, mentioning not only the Dominion of the Sea, but also that Edgar had subdued the greatest part of Ireland, a piece of history which rests solely on the authority of this instrument. It is cited by Coke, Selden, Ussher, Dugdale, and Spelman, not to mention inferior names. Three copies existed; the finest and most complete, and probably the same which is here mentioned by Taylor, is now in the Harleian collection in the British Museum. The charter is now generally considered to be a forgery executed in later times.

I am told that news is come of our taking three Dutch men-of-war, with the loss of one of our Captains.

17th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, where he showed me Mr. Coventry's letters, how three Dutch privateers are taken, in one whereof Everson's son is Captain. But they have killed poor Captain Golding<sup>1</sup> in the Diamond. Two of them, one of 32, and the other of 20 odd guns, did stand stoutly up against her, which hath 46, and the Yarmouth, that hath 52 guns, and as many more men as they. So that they did more than we could expect, not yielding till many of their men were killed. And Everson, when he was brought before the Duke of York and was observed to be shot through the hat, answered that he wished it had gone through his head, rather than been taken. One thing more is written: that two of our ships the other day appearing upon the coast of Holland, they presently fired their beacons round the country to give them notice. And news is brought the King that the Dutch Smyrna fleet is seen upon the back of Scotland; and thereupon the King hath wrote to the Duke that he do appoint a fleet to go to the Northward, to try to meet them coming home round: which God send! Thence to White Hall, where the King, seeing me, did come to me, and, calling me by name, did discourse with me about the ships in the River: and this is the first time that ever I knew the King did know me personally; so that hereafter I must not go thither but with expectation to be questioned, and to be ready to give good answers. So home and thence with Creed, who came to dine with me, to the Old James, where we dined with Sir W. Rider and Cutler, and, by and by, being called by my wife, we all to a play, 'The Ghosts,'<sup>2</sup> at the Duke's House; but a very simple play. This day was left at my house a very neat silver watch, by one Briggs, a scrivener and solicitor, at which I was angry with my wife for receiving, or, at least, for opening the box wherein it was, and so far witnessing our receipt of it as to give the messenger 5s. for bringing it; but it can't be helped, and I will endeavour to do the man a kindness, he being a friend of my uncle Wight's.

18th. To Sir Philip Warwick, and with him to my Lord Treasurer, who signed my commission for Tangier Treasurer, and the docket of my Privy Seal, for the moneys to be paid to me.

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Goulding, slain on the 13th April.

<sup>2</sup> A comedy, on the authority of Downes (p. 26) attributed to a Mr. Holden, and probably never printed.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and by water to White Hall; and there took coach, and with Mr. Moore to Chelsea: where, after all my fears what doubts and difficulties my Lord Privy Seal would make at my Tangier Privy Seal, he did pass it at first reading, without my speaking with him: and then called me in, and was very civil to me. I passed my time in contemplating, before I was called in, the picture of my Lord's son's lady,<sup>1</sup> a most beautiful woman, and most like to Mrs. Butler. Thence, very much joyed, to London back again, and found out Mr. Povy; told him this, and then went and left my Privy Seal at my Lord Treasurer's: and so to the 'Change, and thence to Trinity House; where a great dinner of Captain Crisp, who is made an Elder Brother. And so, being very pleasant at dinner, away home, Creed with me, and there met Povy; and we to Gresham College, where we saw some experiments upon a hen, a dog, and a cat, of the Florence poison. The first it made for a time drunk, but it came to itself again quickly; the second it made vomit mightily, but no other hurt; the third I did not stay to see the effect of it.

20th. This night I am told the first play is played in White Hall noon-hall, which is now turned to a house of playing.

21st. This day we hear that the Duke and the fleet are sailed yesterday. Pray God go along with them, that they have good speed in the beginning of their work.

22d. My wife making great preparation to go to Court to chapel tomorrow. This day I have news from Mr. Coventry that the fleet is sailed yesterday from Harwich to the coast of Holland to see what the Dutch will do. God go along with them!

23d. (Lord's day.) Mr. Povy, according to promise, sent his coach betimes, and I carried my wife and her woman to White Hall Chapel, and set them in the organ loft: and I having least to untruss went to the Harp and Ball and entertained myself in talk with the maid of the house, a pretty maid and very modest. Thence to the chapel and heard the famous young Stillingfleet, whom I knew at Cambridge, and is now newly admitted one of the King's chaplains; and was presented, they say, to my Lord Treasurer for St. Andrew's, Holborn, where he is now minister, with these words: that they, the Bishops of Canterbury, London, and another, believed he is the ablest young man to preach the Gospel of any since the Apostles. He did make the most plain, honest, good, grave sermon, in the most unconcerned and easy yet

<sup>1</sup> Sarah Bodvile.

substantial manner, that ever I heard in my life, upon the words of Samuel to the people: 'Fear the Lord in truth with all your heart, and remember the great things that he hath done for you;' it being proper to this day, the day of the King's Coronation. After dinner Creed and we by coach took the air in the fields beyond St. Pancras, it raining now and then, which it seems is most welcome weather. After supper Creed and I together to bed, in Mercer's bed, and so to sleep.

24th. To the Duke of Albemarle, where very busy. To my Lady Sandwich's to dinner, where my wife by agreement. After dinner, alone, my Lady told me, with the prettiest kind of doubtfulness, whether it would be fit for her with respect to Creed to do it, that is in the world, that Creed had broke his desire to her of being a servant to Mrs. Betty Pickering, and placed it upon encouragement which he had from some discourse of her ladyship, commending of her virtues to him, which, poor lady, she meant most innocently. She did give him a cold answer, but not so severe as it ought to have been; and, it seems, as the lady since to my Lady confesses, he had wrote a letter to her, which she answered slightly, and was resolved to condemn any motion of his therein. My Lady takes the thing very ill, as it is fit she should; but I advise her to stop all future occasions of the world's taking notice of his coming thither so often, as of late he hath done. But to think that he should have this devilish presumption to aim at a lady so near to my Lord is strange, both for his modesty and discretion. Thence to the Cockpit, and there walked an hour with my Lord Duke of Albemarle alone in his garden, where he expressed in great words his opinion of me: that I was the right hand of the Navy here, nobody but I taking any care of anything therein; so that he should not know what could be done without me. At which I was, from him, not a little proud. So by coach with my wife and Mercer to the Park; but the King being there, and I nowadays being doubtful of being seen in any pleasure, did part from the tour, and away out of the Park to Knightsbridge, and there eat and drank in the coach, and so home.

25th. This afternoon W. Pen, lately come from his father in the fleet, did give me an account how the fleet did sail, about 103 in all, besides small ketches, they being in sight of six or seven Dutch scouts, and sent ships in chase of them.

26th. Up, my stomach sick with the buttered ale I did drink last night. Away to White Hall, talking with Povy alone about my

opinion of Creed's indiscretion in looking after Mrs. Pickering, desiring him to make no more a sport of it, but to correct him if he finds that he continues to own any such thing. This I did by my Lady's desire, and do intend to pursue the stop of it. To my Lady Sandwich's, and with her talking again about Creed's folly; but strange it is that he should dare to propose this business himself of Mrs. Pickering to my Lady, and to tell my Lady that he did it for her virtue sake, not minding her money, for he could have a wife with more, but, for all that, he did intend to depend upon her Ladyship to get as much of her father and mother for her as she could. But I do very much fear that Mrs. Pickering's honour, if the world comes to take notice of it, may be wronged by it.

27th. Creed dined with me, and after dinner walked in the garden, he telling me that my Lord Treasurer now begins to be scrupulous, and will know what becomes of the £26,000 saved by my Lord Peterborough, before he parts with any more money; which puts us into new doubts, and me into a great fear, that all my cake will be dough still. This night William Hewer is returned from Harwich, where he hath been paying off some ships this fortnight, and went to sea a good way with the fleet, which was 96 in company then, men-of-war, besides some come in, and following them since, which makes now above 100—whom God bless!

28th. Down the River to visit the victualling-ships, where I find all out of order. And came home to dinner, and then to write a letter to the Duke of Albemarle about them, and carried it myself to the Council-chamber; and when they rose my Lord Chancellor, passing by, stroked me on the head, and told me that the Board had read my letter, and taken order for the punishing of the watermen for not appearing on board the ships. And so did the King afterwards, who do now know me so well, that he never sees me but he speaks to me about our Navy business.

29th. Troubled in my mind to hear that Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes do take notice that I am nowadays much from the office, upon no office business; but what troubles me more is, that I do omit to write, as I should do, to Mr. Coventry, which I must not do, though this night I minded it so little as to sleep in the middle of my letter to him, and committed forty blots and blurs, but of this I hope never more to be guilty.

30th. (Lord's day.) I with great joy find myself to have gained,



this month, above' £100 clear, and in the whole to be worth £1400. Thus I end this month in great content as to my estate and gettings: in much trouble as to the pains I have taken, and the rubs I expect to meet with, about the business of Tangier. The fleet, with about 106 ships upon the coast of Holland, in sight of the Dutch, within the Texel. Great fears of the sickness here in the City, it being said that two or three houses are already shut up. God preserve us all!

May 1st. I met my Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Dean Wilkins, and Mr. Hooke going by coach to Colonel Blunt's<sup>1</sup> to dinner. So they stopped, and took me with them. Landed at the Tower-wharf, and thence by water to Greenwich; and there coaches met us: and to his house, a very stately site for situation and brave plantations; and among others, a vineyard, the first that ever I did see. No extraordinary dinner, nor any other entertainment good; but only after dinner to the trial of some experiments about making of coaches easy. And several we tried; but one did prove mighty easy, not here for me to describe, but the whole body of the coach lies upon one long spring, and we all, one after another, rid in it; and it is very fine and likely to take. Thence to Deptford, and in to Mr. Evelyn's,<sup>2</sup> which is a most beautiful place; but, it being dark and late, I stayed not; but Dean Wilkins and Mr. Hooke and I walked to Redriffe; and noble discourse all day long did please me.

2nd. Sir W. Batten and my Lady and my wife by appointment yesterday to the Rhenish wine-house at the Steelyard, and there eat a couple of lobsters and some prawns, and pretty merry, especially to see us four together again after a year's distance between us.

3d. To the inn by Cripplegate, expecting my mother's coming to town, but she is not come this week, the coach being too full. To Gresham College, and saw a cat killed with the Duke of Florence's poison, and saw it proved that the oil of tobacco drawn by one of the Society do the same effect, and is judged to be the same thing with the poison, both in colour and smell and effect. My Lord Chief Justice Hyde did die suddenly this week, a day or two ago, of an apoplexy.

5th. To Deptford, and after dinner to Mr. Evelyn's; he being abroad, we walked in his garden, and a lovely noble ground he hath indeed. And, among other rarities, a hive of bees, so as, being hived in glass, you may see the bees making their honey

<sup>1</sup> At Wricklesmarsh, in the parish of Charlton.

<sup>2</sup> Sayes Court.

and combs mighty pleasantly. This day, after I had suffered my own hair to grow long in order to wearing it, I find the convenience of periwigs is so great, that I have cut off all short again, and will keep to periwigs.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church with my wife. Yesterday begun my wife to learn to limn of one Browne, which Mr. Hill helps her to; and by her beginning, upon some eyes, I think she will do very fine things, and I shall take great delight in it.

9th. At noon comes Mrs. The. Turner, and dines with us, and my wife's painting-master stayed and dined. This day we have news of eight ships being taken by some of ours, going into the Texel—their two men-of-war, that convoyed them, running in. They come from about Ireland, round to the North.

10th. To the Cockpit, where the Duke of Albemarle did give Sir W. Batten and me an account of the late taking of eight ships, and of his intent to come back to the Gunfleet with the fleet presently; which creates us much work and haste therein, against the fleet comes. And thence to the Guard in Southwark, there to get some soldiers, by the Duke's order, to go keep pressmen on board our ships. Home, and found my poor mother come out of the country today.

12th. By water to the Exchequer, and strike my tallies<sup>1</sup> for £17,500, which methinks is so great a testimony of the goodness of God to me, that I, from a mean clerk there, should come to strike tallies myself for that sum, and in the authority that I do now, is a very stupendous mercy to me. But to see how every little fellow looks after his fees, and to get what he can for everything, is a strange consideration. The King's fees that he must pay himself for this £17,500 coming to above £100. After dinner comes my cousin, Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham,<sup>2</sup> to receive some money of my Lord Sandwich's, and then I paid him what was due to him upon my uncle's score, but, contrary to my expectation, did get him to sign and seal to my sale of lands for payment of debts.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly, accounts were kept, and large sums of money paid and received, by the king's exchequer, with little other form than the exchange or delivery of tallies, pieces of wood notched or scored, corresponding blocks being kept by the parties to the account: and from this usage one of the head officers of the exchequer was called the Tallier, or Teller. These tallies were often negotiable.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham Barns, Surrey, Master of the Jewel Office to Charles II, and in the next reign.

13th. To the 'Change after office, and received my watch from the watch-maker, and a very fine one it is, given me by Briggs, the scrivener. But, Lord! to see how much of my old folly and childishness hangs upon me still, that I cannot forbear carrying my watch in my hand, in the coach, all this afternoon, and seeing what o'clock it is one hundred times, and am apt to think with myself, how could I be so long without one, though I remember, since, I had one and found it a trouble, and resolved to carry one no more about me while I lived. Troubled at a letter from Mr. Cholmely from Tangier, wherein he do advise me how people are at work to overthrow our victualling business, by which I shall lose £300 per annum. I am much obliged to him for this secret kindness.

14th. To church, it being Whit-Sunday; my wife very fine in a new yellow bird's-eye hood, as the fashion is now; my mother having her new suit brought home, which makes her very fine. After dinner my wife and she and Mercer to Thomas Pepys's wife's christening of his first child, and I took a coach, and to Wanstead, the house where Sir H. Mildmay died, and now Sir Robert Brookes lives, having bought it of the Duke of York, it being forfeited to him: a fine seat, but an old-fashioned house, and, being not full of people, looks desolately. I all the afternoon in the coach, reading the treasonous book of the Court of King James, printed a great while ago, and worth reading, though ill intended.<sup>1</sup>

15th. After dinner to the King's playhouse all alone, and saw 'Love's Maistresse'<sup>2</sup>—some pretty things, and good variety in it, but no or little fancy. The Duke of Albemarle showed me letters from Sir G. Downing, of four days' date, that the Dutch are come out and joined, well manned, and resolved to board our best ships, and fight for certain they will.

17th. To Langford's, where I never was since my brother died there. I find my wife and Mercer, having with him agreed upon two rich silk suits for me, which is fit for me to have, but yet the money is too much, I doubt, to lay out altogether; but it is done, and so let it be, it being the expense of the world that I can the best bear with, and the worst spare. The fleet we doubt not come to Harwich by this time. The Duchess of York went down yesterday to meet the Duke.

18th. To the Duke of Albemarle, where we did examine Nixon

<sup>1</sup> The work alluded to is Sir Anthony Weldon's.

<sup>2</sup> By Thomas Heywood.

*May 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

and Stanesby about their late running from two Dutchmen; for which they were committed to a vessel to carry them to the fleet to be tried. A most foul unhandsome thing as ever was heard, for plain cowardice on Nixon's part. Thence with the Duke of Albemarle in his coach to my Lord Treasurer, and there was before the King, who ever now calls me by my name, and Lord Chancellor, and many other great Lords, discoursing about insuring some of the King's goods, wherein the King accepted of my motion that we should; and so away, well pleased.

19th. To the Exchequer, and there got my tallies for £17,500, the first payment I ever had out of the Exchequer, and at the Leg spent 14s. upon my old acquaintance, some of them the clerks, and away home with my tallies in a coach, fearful every step of having one of them fall out or snatched from me. Sir W. Warren did give me several good hints and principles not to do anything suddenly, but consult my pillow upon my Treasurership of Tangier, and every great thing of my life, before I resolve anything in it.

21st. (Lord's day.) This day is brought home one of my new silk suits—the plain one, but very rich camelott and noble. I tried it, and it pleases me, but did not wear it, being I would not go out today to church.

22d. To Deptford, it being Trinity-Monday, and so the day of choosing the Master of Trinity House for the next year; where, to my great content, I find that, contrary to the practice and design of Sir W. Batten to break the rule and custom of the Company in choosing their Masters by succession, he would have brought in Sir W. Rider or Sir W. Pen, over the head of Hurleston (who is a knave, too besides, I believe), the younger brothers did all oppose it against the elder, and with great heat did carry it for Hurleston, which I know will vex him to the heart. Thence, the election being over, to church, where an idle sermon from that conceited fellow, Dr. Britton, saving that his advice to unity and laying aside all envy and enmity among them, was very apposite. Thence walked to Redriffe, and so to the Trinity House, and a great dinner, as is usual.

23d. Late comes Sir Arthur Ingram<sup>1</sup> to my office, to tell me, that, by letters from Amsterdam, of the 28th of this month, the Dutch fleet, being about 100 men-of-war, besides fire-ships, etc., did set out upon the 23rd and 24th inst. Being divided into seven

<sup>1</sup> Sir Arthur Ingram, of Knottingley, Surveyor of the Customs at Hull.

squadrons, viz., 1. General Opdam. 2. Cottenar,<sup>1</sup> of Rotterdam. 3. Tromp. 4. Schram, of Horne. 5. Stillingworth, of Friesland. 6. Everson. 7. One other, not named, of Zealand.

24th. To the coffee-house, where all the news is of the Dutch being gone out, and of the plague growing upon us in this town; and of remedies against it: some saying one thing, and some another.

26th. Creed and I to Alderman Backwell's to try him about supplying us with money, which he denied at first, and last also, saving that he spoke a little fairer at the end than before. In the evening by water to the Duke of Albemarle, whom I found mightily off the hooks, that the ships are not gone out of the River; which vexed me to see.

28th. (Lord's day.) I hear that Nixon is condemned to be shot to death for his cowardice, by a Council of War. To Sir Philip Warwick's to dinner, where abundance of company come in unexpectedly; and here I saw one pretty piece of household stuff, as the company increaseth, to put a larger leaf upon an oval table. After dinner, much good discourse with Sir Philip, who, I find, I think a most pious good man, and a professor of a philosophical manner of life and principles like Epictetus, whom he cites in many things. Thence to my Lady Sandwich's, where, to my shame, I had not been a great while. Here, upon my telling her a story of my Lord Rochester's<sup>2</sup> running away on Friday night last with Mrs. Mallett, the great beauty and fortune of the North, who had supped at White Hall with Mrs. Stuart and was going home to her lodgings with her grandfather, my Lord Hawley,<sup>3</sup> by coach; and was at Charing Cross seized on by both horse and footmen, and forcibly taken from him, and put into a coach with six horses, and two women provided to receive her, and carried away. Upon immediate pursuit, my Lord of Rochester, for whom the King had spoke to the lady often, but with no success, was taken at Uxbridge; but the lady is not yet heard of, and the King mighty

<sup>1</sup> Died of his wounds after the sea fight in 1665.

<sup>2</sup> John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, notorious for his wit and profligacy: *ob.* 1680. He married the lady alluded to, Elizabeth, daughter of John Mallett, of Enmore, county Somerset.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Mallett's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Hawley, of Buckland House, Somersetshire, created a baronet 1642, and in 1646 an Irish peer, by the title of Baron Hawley of Donamore; in 1671 he was chosen M.P. for St. Michael, and in 1673 became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York. *Ob.* 1684, aged seventy-six.

*June 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

angry, and the Lord sent to the Tower. Hereupon my Lady did confess to me, as a great secret, her being concerned in this story. For if this match breaks between my Lord Rochester and her, then, by the consent of all her friends, my Lord Hinchinbroke stands fair, and is invited for her. She is worth, and will be at her mother's death, who keeps but a little from her, £2500 per annum. Pray God give a good success to it! But my poor Lady, who is afraid of the sickness, and resolved to be gone into the country, is forced to stay in town a day or two, or three, about it, to see the event of it. Thence to see my Lady Pen, where my wife and I were shown a fine rarity: of fishes kept in a glass of water, that will live so for ever; and finely marked they are, being foreign.<sup>1</sup>

29th. To the Swan, and there drank at Herbert's, and so by coach home—it being kept a great holiday through the City, for the birth and restoration of the King. Home to dinner, and then with my wife, mother, and Mercer in one boat, and I in another, down to Woolwich. We have everywhere taken some prizes. Our merchants have good luck to come home safe—colliers from the North, and some Straits' men—just now. And our Hamburg ships, of whom we were so much afraid, are safe in Hamburg. Our fleet resolve to sail out again from Harwich in a day or two.

30th. To dinner to Sir G. Carteret's. Here a very fine, neat, French dinner, without much cost, we being all alone with my Lady, and one of the house with her: and then, in the evening, by coach with my wife and mother and Mercer, our usual tour by coach, and eat at the old house at Islington: but, Lord! to see how my mother found herself talk upon every object to think of old stories. Here I met with one that tells me that Jack Cole, my old schoolfellow, is dead, and buried lately, of a consumption, who was a great crony of mine.

31st. To the 'Change, where great the noise and trouble of having our Hamburg ships lost; and that very much placed upon Mr. Coventry's forgetting to give notice to them of the going away of our fleet from the coast of Holland. But all without reason, for he did; but the merchants not being ready, stayed longer than the time ordered for the convoy to stay, which was ten days. To Huysman's, the painter, who I intend shall draw my wife. He was not within, but I saw several good pictures.

June 1st. After dinner I put on my new camelott suit, the best that ever I wore in my life, the suit costing me above £24. In

<sup>1</sup> They were goldfish, brought from China.

this I went with Creed to Goldsmiths' Hall, to the burial of Sir Thomas Viner;<sup>1</sup> which Hall, and Haberdashers' also, was so full of people, that we were fain for ease and coolness to go forth to Paternoster Row, to choose a silk to make me a plain ordinary suit. That done, we walked to Cornhill, and there, at Mr. Cade's, stood in the balcon, and saw all the funeral, which was with the blue-coat boys and old men, all the Aldermen, and Lord Mayor, &c.; and the number of the company very great, the greatest I ever did see for a tavern.

2d. Met an express from Sir W. Batten at Harwich, that the fleet is all sailed from Sole Bay, having spied the Dutch fleet at sea, and that, if the calms hinder not, they must needs now be engaged with them. Another letter also came to me from Mr. Hater, committed by the Council this afternoon to the Gate House, upon the misfortune of having his name used by one, without his knowledge or privity, for the receiving of some powder that he had bought. Up to Court about these two, and for the former was led up to my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, where the King and she and others were at supper, and there I read the letter and returned: and to Sir G. Carteret about T. Hater, and shall have him released tomorrow, upon my giving bail for his appearance. Sir G. Carteret did go on purpose to the King to ask this, and it was granted.

3d. To White Hall, and, upon entering into recognizances, T. Hater was released. Home, vexed to be kept from the office all the morning, which I had not been in many months before, if not some years. All this day, by all people upon the River and almost everywhere else hereabout, were heard the guns, our two fleets for certain being engaged; which was confirmed by letters from Harwich, but nothing particular; and all our hearts full of concernment for the Duke, and I particularly for my Lord Sandwich and Mr. Coventry, after His Royal Highness.

4th. (Lord's day.) Blessed be God! am worth £1400 odd money. News come that our fleet is pursuing the Dutch, who, either by cunning or by being worsted, do give ground, but nothing more for certain.

5th. Great talk of the Dutch being fled, and we in pursuit of them, and that our ship *Charity* is lost upon our Captain's,

<sup>1</sup> Sheriff of London 1648; when lord mayor in 1654 he was knighted by Cromwell, and made baronet 1661. He was a goldsmith, and dying 11th May 1665, was buried in St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard Street.

angry, and the Lord sent to the Tower. Hereupon my Lady did confess to me, as a great secret, her being concerned in this story. For if this match breaks between my Lord Rochester and her, then, by the consent of all her friends, my Lord Hinchinbroke stands fair, and is invited for her. She is worth, and will be at her mother's death, who keeps but a little from her, £2500 per annum. Pray God give a good success to it! But my poor Lady, who is afraid of the sickness, and resolved to be gone into the country, is forced to stay in town a day or two, or three, about it, to see the event of it. Thence to see my Lady Pen, where my wife and I were shown a fine rarity: of fishes kept in a glass of water, that will live so for ever; and finely marked they are, being foreign.<sup>1</sup>

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8th. About five o'clock my wife came home, it having lightened all night hard, and one great shower of rain. She came and lay upon the bed: I up, and to the office all the morning. I alone at home to dinner—my wife, mother, and Mercer dining at W. Joyce's; I giving her a caution to go round by the Half Moon to his house, because of the plague. I to my Lord Treasurer's, by appointment of Sir Thomas Ingram's, to meet the Goldsmiths; where I met with the great news at last newly come, brought by Bab. May<sup>1</sup> from the Duke of York, that we have totally routed the Dutch; that the Duke himself, the Prince, my Lord Sandwich, and Mr. Coventry are all well: which did put me into such joy, that I forgot almost all other thoughts. With great joy to the Cock-pit; where the Duke of Albemarle, like a man out of himself with content, new-told me all; and by and by comes a letter from Mr. Coventry's own hand to him, which he never opened, which was a strange thing, but did give it me to open and read, and consider what was fit for our Office to do in it, and leave the letter with Sir W. Clerke; which upon such a time and occasion was a strange piece of indifference, hardly pardonable. I copied out the letter, and did also take minutes out of Sir W. Clerke's other letters: and the sum of the news is:

#### VICTORY OVER THE DUTCH, JUNE 3, 1665.

This day they engaged: the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle<sup>2</sup> killed on board the Duke's ship, the *Royal Charles*, with one shot: their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say. Earl of Marlborough, Portland,<sup>3</sup> Rear Admiral Sansum to Prince Rupert, killed, and Captain Kirby and Ableson.<sup>4</sup> Sir John Lawson wounded on the knee: hath had some bones taken out, and is likely to be well again. Upon receiving the hurt, he sent to the Duke for another to command the *Royal Oak*. The Duke sent Jordan<sup>5</sup> out of the *St. George*, who did brave things in her. Captain

<sup>1</sup> Baptist May (1629–98), keeper of the Privy Purse to Charles II; buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> Second son to the Earl of Burlington.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Weston, third Earl of Portland.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Kirby commanded the *Vreda*, James Ableson the *Guinea*.

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards Sir Joseph Jordan, commander of the *Royal Sovereign* and Vice-admiral of the Blue, 1672. He was knighted on 1st July 1665.

*June 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

Jeremiah Smith, of the *Mary*, was second to the Duke, and stepped between him and Captain Seaton, of the *Urania*, 76 guns and 400 men, who had sworn to board the Duke; killed him 200 men, and took the ship; himself losing 99 men, and never an officer saved but himself and lieutenant. His master indeed is saved, with his leg cut off. Admiral Opdam blown up, Trump killed, and said by Holmes; all the rest of their admirals, as they say, but Everson, whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange, are killed: we have taken and sunk, as is believed, about twenty-four of their best ships; killed and taken near 8 or 10,000 men, and lost, we think, not above 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled; some 43 got into the Texel, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest.

Thence, with my heart full of joy, home: then to my Lady Pen's, where they are all joyed, and not a little puffed up at the good success of their father; and good service indeed is said to have been done by him. Had a great bonfire at the gate; and I, with my Lady Pen's people and others, to Mrs. Turner's great room, and then down into the street. I did give the boys 4s. among them, and mighty merry. So home to bed with my heart at great rest and quiet, saving that the consideration of the victory is too great for me presently to comprehend.

9th. To White Hall, and in my way met with Mr. Moore, who eases me in one point wherein I was troubled; which was, that I heard of nothing said or done by my Lord Sandwich: but he tells me that Mr. Cowling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, did hear the King say that my Lord Sandwich had done nobly and worthily. The King, it seems, is much troubled at the fall of my Lord Falmouth; but I do not meet with any man else that so much as wishes him alive again, the world conceiving him a man of too much pleasure to do the King any good, or offer any good office to him. But I hear, of all hands, he is confessed to have been a man of great honour, that did show it in this his going with the Duke, the most that ever any man did. Home, where my people busy to make ready a supper against night for some guests, in lieu of my stone-feast. With my tailor to buy a silk suit, which, though I had one lately, yet I do, for joy of the good news we have lately had of our victory over the Dutch, which makes me willing to spare myself something extraordinary in clothes; and, after long resolution of having nothing but black, I did buy a coloured silk ferrandin. So home, where by and by comes Mr. Honiwood and Mrs. Wilde,

and Roger Pepys and Mrs. Turner, The. and Joyce. We had a good venison pasty, this being instead of my stone-feast the last March. So to bed, glad it was over.

10th. In the evening home to supper; and there, to my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the City, though it hath, these three or four weeks since its beginning, been wholly out of the City; but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr. Burnett, in Fenchurch Street: which, in both points, troubles me mightily. To bed, troubled at the sickness, and particularly how to put my things and estate in order, in case it should please God to call me away, which God dispose of to His glory.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and expected long a new suit; but coming not, dressed myself in my new black silk camelott suit; and, when fully ready, comes my new one of coloured ferrandin, which my wife puts me out of love with, which vexes me. At noon, by invitation, comes my two cousin Joyces and their wives, my aunt James and he-cousin Harman, his wife being ill. I had a good dinner for them, and as merry as I could be in such company. They being gone, I out of doors a little, to show, forsooth, my new suit, and in going I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great goodwill among his neighbours: for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord: which was very handsome. In the evening comes Mr. Andrews and his wife and Mr. Hill, and stayed, and played and sung and supped, most excellent pretty company, so pleasant, ingenious, and harmless, I cannot desire better.

12th. Up, and in my yesterday's new suit to the Duke of Albe-marle, and after a turn in White Hall returned; and, with my tailor, bought some gold lace for my sleeve bands in Paternoster Row. The Duke of York is sent for last night, and expected to be here tomorrow.

13th. At noon with Sir G. Carteret to my Lord Mayor's to dinner, where much company in a little room. His name, Sir John Lawrence. Here were at table three Sir Richard Brownes, viz.: he of the Council, a clerk, and the alderman,<sup>1</sup> and his son;

<sup>1</sup> Alderman Sir Richard Browne, Bart., was lord mayor in 1621, and major-general of the train-bands: see *ante*, 22nd February 1660. His son was Sir Richard Browne, Knight. Sir Richard Browne, the clerk of the council, noticed 25th January 1662, was of a different family. The lord mayor was seated at Debden Hall in Essex, which he had purchased soon after 1660, and the estate was alienated by his son, the second baronet.

*June 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEYPS

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becomes me most nobly, as my wife says. At noon, put on my first laced band, all lace; and to Kate Joyce's to dinner, where my mother, wife, and abundance of their friends, and good usage. At Woolwich, discoursed with Mr. Sheldon about my bringing my wife down for a month or two to his house, which he approves of, and, I think, will be very convenient. This day the News-book,<sup>1</sup> upon Mr. Moore's showing L'Estrange Captain Ferrers's letter, did do my Lord Sandwich great right as to the late victory. The Duke of York not yet come to town. The town grows very sickly, and people to be afraid of it: there dying this last week of the plague 112, from 43 the week before; whereof but one in Fenchurch Street, and one in Broad Street by the Treasurer's office.

16th. After dinner, and doing some business at the office, I to White Hall, where the Court is full of the Duke and his courtiers returned from sea. All fat and lusty, and ruddy by being in the sun. I kissed his hands, and we waited all the afternoon. By and by saw Mr. Coventry, which rejoiced my very heart. Anon he and I, from all the rest of the company, walked into the Matted Gallery; where, after many expressions of love, we fell to talk of business; among other things, how my Lord Sandwich, both in his counsels and personal service, hath done most honourably and serviceably. Sir J. Lawson is come to Greenwich; but his wound in his knee yet very bad. Jonas Poole, in the Vanguard, did basely, so as to be, or will be, turned out of his ship. Captain Holmes expecting, upon Sansum's death, to be made Rear-admiral to the Prince—but Harman<sup>2</sup> is put in—hath delivered up to the Duke his commission, which the Duke took and tore. He, it seems, had bid the Prince, who first told him of Holmes's intention, that he should dissuade him from it; for that he was resolved to take it if he offered it. Yet Holmes would do it, like a rash, proud coxcomb. But he is rich, and hath, it seems, sought an occasion of leaving the service. Several of our Captains have done ill. The great ships are the ships do the business, they quite deadening the enemy. They run away upon sight of the Prince. It is strange to see how people do already slight Sir William Berkeley,<sup>3</sup> my

<sup>1</sup> L'Estrange's *Intelligencer*.

<sup>2</sup> John Harman, afterwards knighted. He had served with great reputation in several naval fights, and was desperately wounded in 1673, while engaged with a Dutch man-of-war, which he captured. He survived the action some years, but never recovered his health.

<sup>3</sup> Commander of the *Swiftsure* in this action, and killed in the sea fight the following year, when Vice-admiral of the Blue.

Lord FitzHarding's brother, who, three months since, was the delight of the Court. Captain Smith, of the *Mary*, the Duke talks mightily of; and some great thing will be done for him. Strange to hear how the Dutch do relate, as the Duke says, that they are the conquerors; and bonfires are made in Dunkirk in their behalf, though a clearer victory can never be expected. Mr. Coventry thinks they cannot have lost less than 6,000 men, and we not dead above 200, and wounded about 400; in all about 600. Captain Grove, the Duke told us this day, hath done the basest thing at Lowestoft, in hearing of the guns, and could not, as others, be got out, but stayed there; for which he will be tried; and is reckoned a prating coxcomb, and of no courage.

17th. At the office find Sir W. Pen come home, who looks very well; and I am gladder to see him than otherwise I should be, because of my hearing so well of him for his serviceableness in this late great action. It struck me very deep this afternoon, going with a hackney coach from Lord Treasurer's down Holborn,<sup>1</sup> the coachman I found to drive easily and easily, at last stood still, and come down hardly able to stand, and told me that he was suddenly struck very sick, and almost blind—he could not see. So I 'light, and went into another coach, with a sad heart for the poor man and for myself also, lest he should have been struck with the plague, being at the end of the town that I took him up; but God have mercy upon us all! Sir John Lawson, I hear, is worse than yesterday; the King went to see him today most kindly. It seems his wound is not very bad; but he hath a fever, a thrush, and a hiccough, all three together, which are, it seems, very bad symptoms.

18th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where Sir W. Pen was the first time since he came from sea after the battle. Mr. Mills made a sorry sermon to prove that there was a world to come after this. Sir W. Batten and my Lady are returned from Harwich. I went to see them, and it is pretty to see how we appear kind one to another, though neither of us care *2d.* for another. Home to supper, and then coming a hasty letter from Commissioner Pett for pressing of some caulkers (as I would ever on His Majesty's service) with all speed, I made a warrant presently and issued it.

19th. To my little new goldsmith's <sup>2</sup> whose wife, indeed, is one

<sup>1</sup> Lord Southampton lived on the north side of Bloomsbury Square. His house was afterwards Bedford House.

<sup>2</sup> Colvill.

of the prettiest, modest, black women that ever I saw. I paid for a dozen of silver salts £6 14s. 6d. Thence to see Sir J. Lawson, who is better, but continues ill—his hiccough not being yet gone, could have little discourse with him.

20th. Thanksgiving-day for victory over the Dutch. To the Dolphin tavern, where all we Officers of the Navy met with the Commissioners of the Ordnance by agreement, and dined: where good music at my direction. Our club came to 34s. a man, nine of us. By water to Fox-hall, and there walked an hour alone, observing the several humours of the citizens that were there this holiday, pulling of cherries, and God knows what. This day I informed myself that there died four of five at Westminster of the plague, in several houses, upon Sunday last, in Bell Alley, over against the Palace Gate; yet people do think that the number will be fewer in the town than it was the last week. The Dutch are come out again with 20 sail under Bankert: supposed gone to the Northward, to meet their East India fleet.

21st. I find our tallies will not be money in less than sixteen months, which is a sad thing for the King to pay all that interest for every penny he spends: and, which is strange, the goldsmiths with whom I spoke do declare that they will not be moved to part with money upon the increase of their consideration of ten per cent. which they have. I find all the town almost going out of town, the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country.

22d. In great pain whether to send my mother into the country today or no, I hearing by my people that the poor wretch hath a mind to stay a little longer; and I cannot blame her, considering what a life she will through her own folly lead when she comes home again, unlike the pleasure and liberty she has had here. At last I resolved to put it to her, and she agreed to go, because of the sickness in town and my intentions of removing my wife. She was to the last unwilling to go, but would not say so, but put it off till she lost her place in the coach and was fain to ride in the waggon part.

23d. To a Committee for Tangier, where, unknown to me, comes my Lord of Sandwich, who, it seems, came to town last night. After the Committee was up my Lord Sandwich did take me aside in the Robe-chamber, telling me how much the Duke and Mr. Coventry did, both in the fleet and here, make of him, and that in some opposition to the Prince; and, as a more private

passage, he told me that he hath been with them both when they have made sport of the Prince, and laughed at him: yet that all the discourse of the town, and the printed relation, should not give him one word of honour my Lord thinks very strange; he assuring me, that, though by accident the Prince was in the van in the beginning of the fight for the first pass, yet, all the rest of the day my Lord was in the van, and continued so. That, notwithstanding all this noise of the Prince, he had hardly a shot in his side or a man killed, whereas he [Lord Sandwich] hath above 30 in her hull, and not one mast whole nor yard; but the most battered ship of the fleet, and lost most men, saving Captain Smith of the *Mary*. That the most the Duke did was almost out of gun-shot; but that, indeed, the Duke did come up to my Lord's rescue after he had a great while fought with four of them. How poorly Sir John Lawson performed, notwithstanding all that was said of him; and how his ship turned out of the way, while Sir J. Lawson himself was upon the deck, to the endangering of the whole fleet. It therefore troubles my Lord that Mr. Coventry should not mention a word of him in his relation. I did, in answer, offer that I was sure the relation was not compiled by Mr. Coventry, but by L'Estrange, out of several letters, as I could witness, and that Mr. Coventry's letter that he did give the Duke of Albemarle did give him as much right as the Prince; for I myself read it first, and then copied it out, which I promised to show my Lord, with which he was somewhat satisfied. From that discourse my Lord did begin to tell me how much he was concerned to dispose of his children, and would have my advice and help; and propounded to match my Lady Jemimah to Sir G. Carteret's eldest son,<sup>1</sup> which I approved of, and did undertake the speaking with him about it as from myself, which my Lord liked. To one Finch,<sup>2</sup> one of the Commissioners of the Excise, to be informed about some things of the Excise, in order to our settling matters therein better for us for our Tangier business. I find him a very discreet, grave person. Creed and I took boat, and to Fox-hall, where we spent two or three hours talking of several matters very soberly and contentfully to me; which, with the air and pleasure of the garden, was a great refreshment to me, and, methinks, that which we ought to joy ourselves in. Home, by hackney coach, which is become

<sup>1</sup> Philip Carteret, afterwards knighted. He perished on board his father-in-law Lord Sandwich's flagship, at the battle of Sole Bay.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Finch.



a very dangerous passage nowadays, the sickness increasing mightily.

24th. To Dr. Clerke's, and there I, in the best manner I could, broke my errand about a match between Sir G. Carteret's eldest son and my Lord Sandwich's eldest daughter, which he, as I knew he would, took with great content: and we both agreed that my Lord and he, being both men relating to the sea, under a kind aspect of His Majesty, already good friends, and both virtuous and good families, their alliance might be of good use to us: and he did undertake to find out Sir George this morning, and put the business in execution. I to White Hall, where I, with Creed and Povy, attended my Lord Treasurer, and did prevail with him to let us have an assignment for 15 of £20,000, which, I hope, will do our business for Tangier. To Sir G. Carteret, and, in the best manner I could, and most obligingly, moved the business: he received it with great respect and content, and thanks to me, and promised that he would do what he possibly could for his son, to render him fit for my Lord's daughter, and showed great kindness to me, and sense of my kindness to him herein. Sir William Pen told me this day that Mr. Coventry is to be sworn a Privy Councillor, at which my soul is glad.

25th. To White Hall, where, after I again visited Sir G. Carteret, and received his (and now his Lady's) full content in my proposal, my Lord Sandwich did direct me to return to Sir G. Carteret and give him thanks for his kind reception of this offer, and that he would the next day be willing to enter discourse with him about the business. My Lord, I perceive, intends to give £5000 with her, and expects about £800 per annum jointure. Before I went to White Hall I went down to Greenwich by water, thinking to have visited Sir J. Lawson, where, when I come, I find that he died this morning; and indeed the nation hath a great loss, though I cannot, without dissembling, say that I am sorry for it; for he was a man never kind to me at all. Being at White Hall, I visited Mr. Coventry, who, among other talk, entered about the great question now in the House about the Duke's going to sea again; about which the whole House is divided. He did concur with me that, for the Duke's honour and safety, it were best, after so great a service and victory and danger, not to go again; and, above all, that the life of the Duke cannot but be a security to the Crown—if he were away, it being more easy to attempt anything upon the King—but how the fleet will be governed without him, the Prince being a man of

*June 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

no government, and severe in council, that no ordinary man can offer any advice against his; saying, truly, that it had been better he had gone to Guinea; and that, were he away, it were easy to see how things might be ordered, my Lord Sandwich being a man of temper and judgment, as much as any man he ever knew, and that upon good observation he said this, and that his temper must correct the Prince's. But I perceive he is much troubled what will be the event of the question.

26th. To the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Treasurer was, the first and only time he ever was there, and did promise us £15,000 for Tangier, and no more, which will be short. Thence with Creed to the King's Head, and there dined with him at the ordinary: and good sport with one Mr. Nicholls, a prating coxcomb, that would be thought a poet, but would not be got to repeat any of his verses. Home, and there find my wife's brother and his wife, a pretty little modest woman, where they dined with my wife. He did come to desire my assistance for a living, and, upon his good promises of care, and that it should be no burden to me, I did say and promise I would think of finding something for him, and the rather because his wife seems a pretty discreet young thing, and humble, and he, above all things, desirous to do something to maintain her, telling me sad stories of what she endured with him in Holland; and I hope it will not be burdensome. The plague increases mightily, I this day seeing a house, at a bit-maker's, over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up: which is a sad sight.

28th. I did take my leave of Sir William Coventry, who, it seems, was knighted and sworn a Privy Councillor two days since; who with his old kindness treated me, and I believe I shall ever find him a noble friend. Sir G. Carteret tells me how all things proceed between my Lord Sandwich and himself to full content, and both sides depend upon having the match finished presently, and professed great kindness to me, and said that now we were something akin. In my way to Westminster Hall I observed several plague-houses in King's Street and near the Palace. I was fearful of going to any house, but I did to the Swan, and thence to White Hall, giving the waterman a shilling, because a young fellow and belonging to the Plymouth. My Lord Sandwich is gone towards the sea today, it being a sudden resolution, I having taken no leave of him.

29th. By water to White Hall, where the Court full of waggons

and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267, which is about ninety more than the last: and of these but four in the City, which is a great blessing to us. Took leave again of Mr. Coventry; though I hope the Duke is not gone to stay, and so do others too. Home, calling at Somerset House, where all are packing up too: the Queen-mother setting out for France this day, to drink Bourbon waters this year, she being in a consumption; and intends not to come till winter come twelve months.

30th. To White Hall, to the Duke of Albemarle, who I find at Secretary Bennet's, there being now no other great statesman, I think, but my Lord Chancellor in town. In the afternoon I down to Woolwich. Back by water, and in the dark and against the tide, shot the bridge, groping with their pole for the way, which troubled me before I got through. So home, about one or two o'clock in the morning, my family at a great loss what was become of me. Thus this book of two years ends. Myself and family in good health, consisting of myself and wife, Mercer, her woman, Mary, Alice, and Susan, our maids, and Tom, my boy. In a sickly time of the plague growing on. Having upon my hands the troublesome care of the Treasury of Tangier, with great sums drawn upon me, and nothing to pay them with: also the business of the office great. Considering of removing my wife to Woolwich: she lately busy in learning to paint, with great pleasure and success. All other things well; especially a new interest I am making, by a match in hand between the eldest son of Sir G. Carteret and my Lady Jemimah Montagu. The Duke of York gone down to the fleet; but all suppose not with intent to stay there, as it is not fit, all men conceive, he should.

July 1st. To the Duke of Albemarle's by appointment, to give him an account of some disorder in the Yard at Portsmouth, by workmen's going away of their own accord, for lack of money, to get work of haymaking, or anything else to earn themselves bread. To Westminster, where I hear the sickness increases greatly. Sad at the news that seven or eight houses in Basinghall Street are shut up of the plague.

2d. (Lord's day.) Sir G. Carteret did send me word that the business between my Lord and him is fully agreed on, and is mightily liked of the King and the Duke of York. Sir J. Lawson was buried late last night at St. Dunstan's by us, without any company at all, and that the condition of his family is but very poor.

3d. Late at the office, and so home resolving from this night forwards to close all my letters, if possible, and end all my business at the office by daylight, and put all my affairs in the world in good order, the season growing so sickly, that it is much to be feared how a man can escape having a share with others in it; for which the good Lord God bless me, or to be fitted to receive it.

4th. I hear this day the Duke and Prince Rupert are both come back from sea, and neither of them go back again. Bankert, it seems, is come home with the little fleet he has been abroad with, without doing anything, so that there is nobody of an enemy at sea. We are in great hopes of meeting with the Dutch East India fleet, which is mighty rich, or with De Ruyter, who is so also.

5th. Advised about sending my wife's bedding and things to Woolwich, in order to her removal thither. With Mr. Coventry, and understand how matters are ordered in the fleet: my Lord Sandwich goes Admiral; under him Sir G. Ascue and Sir T. Teddeman; Vice-Admiral Sir W. Pen, and under him Sir W. Berkeley and Sir Jos. Jordan<sup>1</sup>; Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Allen, and under him Sir Christopher Mings<sup>2</sup> and Captain Harman. Walked round to White Hall, the Park being quite locked up; and I observed a house shut up this day in the Pall Mall, where heretofore, in Cromwell's time, we young men used to keep our weekly clubs. Sir G. Carteret do now take all my Lord Sandwich's business to heart, and makes it the same with his own. He tells me how at Chatham it was proposed to my Lord Sandwich to be joined with the Prince in the command of the fleet, which he was most willing to; but, when it came to the Prince, he was quite against it, saying, there could be no government, but that it would be better to have two fleets, and neither under the command of the other, which he would not agree to. So the King was not pleased; but, without any unkindness, did order the fleet to be ordered as above, as to the Admirals and commands: so the Prince is come up; and Sir G. Carteret, I remember, had this word thence, that, says he, by this means, though the King told him that it would be but for this expedition, yet I believe we shall keep him out for altogether. He tells me how my Lord was much troubled at Sir W. Pen's being

<sup>1</sup> Commanded the *Royal Sovereign* as Vice-admiral of the Blue, in 1672; and distinguished himself in the battle of Sole Bay, and on other occasions. He had just been knighted.

<sup>2</sup> The son of a shoemaker, bred to the sea-service, and rose to the rank of an admiral. He was killed in the fight with the Dutch, June 1666.

ordered forth, as it seems he is to go to Sole Bay, and with the best fleet he can, to go forth, and no notice taken of my Lord Sandwich going after him, and having the command over him. By water to Woolwich, where I found my wife come, and her two maids, and very prettily accommodated they will be; and I left them going to supper, grieved in my heart to part with my wife, being worse by much without her, though some trouble there is in having the care of a family at home in this plague time.

6th. Alderman Backwell is ordered abroad upon some private score with a great sum of money, wherein I was instrumental the other day in shipping him away. It seems some of his creditors have taken notice of it, and he was like to be broke yesterday in his absence: Sir G. Carteret telling me that the King and the kingdom must as good as fall with that man at this time; and that he was forced to get £4,000 himself to answer Backwell's people's occasions, or he must have broke; but committed this to me as a great secret. To see my Lord Brouncker, who is not well. I could not see him, nor had much mind, one of the great houses within two doors of him being shut up: and, Lord! the number of houses visited, which this day I observed through the town, quite round in my way, by Long Lane and London Wall. To Sir W. Batten, and spent the evening at supper; and, among other discourse, the rashness of Sir John Lawson for breeding up his daughter so high and proud, refusing a man of great interest, Sir W. Berkeley, to match her with a melancholy fellow, Colonel Norton's son, of no interest nor good nature nor generosity at all; giving her £6,000, when the other would have taken her with two. When he himself knew that he was not worth the money himself in all the world, he did give her that portion, and is since dead, and left his wife and two daughters beggars, and the other gone away with £6,000, and no content in it, through the ill qualities of her father-in-law and husband, who, it seems, though a pretty woman, contracted for her as if he had been buying a horse; and, worst of all, is now of no use to serve the mother and two little sisters in any stead at Court, whereas the other might have done what he would for her. So here is an end of this family's pride, which, with good care, might have been what they would, and done well. Sir W. Pen, it seems, sailed last night from Sole Bay with about sixty sail of ship, and my Lord Sandwich in the Prince, and some others, it seems, going after them to overtake them.

7th. At this time I have two tierces of claret, two quarter casks

of Canary, and a smaller vessel of sack; a vessel of tent, another of Malaga, and another of white wine, all in my wine-cellar together; which, I believe, none of my friends of my name now alive ever had of his own at one time.

8th. Ended my letters by nine at night, and then down to Woolwich to my wife; but strange to think what a fine night I had down, but before I had been one minute on shore, the mightiest storm came of wind and rain that almost could be for a quarter of an hour, and so left.

9th. (Lord's day.) To Sir G. Carteret, and there find my Lady in her chamber, not very well, but looks the worst almost that ever I did see her in my life. It seems her drinking of the water at Tunbridge did almost kill her before she could with most violent physic get it out of her body again. Received with most extraordinary kindness by my Lady Carteret and her children, and dined most nobly. I took occasion to have much discourse with Mr. Ph. Carteret, and find him a very modest man; and I think verily of mighty good nature and pretty understanding. He did give me a good account of the fight with the Dutch. Took boat and home, and there shifted myself into my black silk suit; and, having promised Harman yesterday, I to his house, which I find very mean, and mean company. His wife very ill: I could not see her. Here I, with her father and Kate Joyce, who was also very ill, were godfathers and godmother to his boy, and was christened Will. Mr. Meriton<sup>1</sup> christened him. The most observable thing I found there to my content, was to hear him and his clerk tell me that in this parish of Michael's Cornhill, one of the middlemost parishes, and a great one of the town, there hath, notwithstanding this sickliness, been buried of any disease, man, woman, or child, not one for thirteen months last past; which is very strange. And the like, in a good degree, in most other parishes, I hear, saving only of the plague in them; but in this neither the plague nor any other disease.

10th. Away by water to the Duke of Albemarle's, where he tells me that I must be at Hampton Court anon. So I home, and having a coach of Mr. Povy's attending me, by appointment, in order to my coming to dine at his country house, at Brentford, where he and his family is, I went, and Mr. Tasbrough with me therein, it being a pretty chariot, but most inconvenient as to the horses

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Meriton, instituted to the rectory of St. Michael, Cornhill, 1663, of which he continued incumbent nearly forty years.

throwing dust and dirt into one's eyes and upon one's clothes. There I stayed a quarter of an hour. Creed rode before, and Mr. Povy and I after him in the chariot; and I was set down by him at the Park pale, where one of his saddle-horses was ready for me, he himself not daring to come into the house or be seen, because that a servant of his, out of his house, happened to be sick, but is not yet dead, but was never suffered to come into his house after he was ill. But this opportunity was taken to injure Povy, and most horribly he is abused by some persons hereupon, and his fortune, I believe, quite broke; but that he hath a good heart to bear, or a cunning one to conceal his evil. It is, I perceive, an unpleasing thing to be at Court, everybody being fearful one of another, and all so sad enquiring after the plague, so that I stole away by my horse to Kingston, and there, with much trouble, was forced to press two sturdy rogues to carry me to London, and met at the water-side with Mr. Charnock, Sir Philip Warwick's clerk, who had been with company, and was quite foxed.<sup>1</sup> I took him with me in my boat, and so away to Richmond, and there, by night, walked with him to Mortlake, a very pretty walk, and there stayed a good while.

11th. All night down by water, a most pleasant passage, and came thither by two o'clock, and so walked from the Old Swan home, and there to bed to my Will—and he lodging at my desire in my house. To Westminster, where, and all the town besides, the plague increases. So to the Duke of Albemarle, and there with much ado did get his consent in part to my having the money promised for Tangier. To the evening 'Change, and there hear all the town full that Ostend is delivered to us, and that Alderman Backwell did go with £50,000 to that purpose: but the truth of it I do not know. So to the office, and so away to bed, taking some Venice treacle, feeling myself out of order.

12th. After doing what business I could in the morning, it being a solemn fast-day for the plague growing upon us, I took boat, and down to Deptford, where I stood with great pleasure an hour or two by my Lady Sandwich's bedside, talking to her (she lying prettily in bed), of my Lady Jemimah's being from my Lady Pickering's when our letters came to that place, she being at my Lord Montagu's, at Boughton. The truth is, I had received letters of it two days ago, but had dropped them, and was in a very extraordinary strait what to do for them, or what account to give my

<sup>1</sup> Drunk.

*July 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

Lady, but sent to every place; I sent to Mortlake, where I had been the night before, and there they were found, which with mighty joy came safe to me; but all ending with satisfaction to my Lady and me, though I find my Lady Carteret not much pleased with this delay, and principally because of the plague, which renders it unsafe to stay long at Deptford. I eat a bit, my Lady Carteret being the most kind lady in the world, and so took boat, and a fresh boat at the Tower, and so up the river, against tide all the way, I having lost it by staying prating to and with my Lady: and, from before one, made it seven before we got to Hampton Court. And, when I came there all business was over, saving my finding Mr. Coventry at his chamber; and so away to my boat, and all night upon the water, and came home by two o'clock, shooting the bridge at that time of night. Heard Mr. Williamson repeat at Hampton Court, today, how the King of France hath lately set out a most high arrest against the Pope, which is reckoned very lofty and high.

13th. By water, at night late, to Sir G. Carteret's, but, there being no oars to carry me, I was fain to call a sculler that had a gentleman already in it, and he proved a man of love to music, and he and I sung together the way down with great pleasure. Above 700 died of the plague this week.

14th. In the evening I by water to Sir G. Carteret's, and there find my Lady Sandwich buying things for my Lady Jem's wedding: and my Lady Jem is, beyond expectation, come to Dagenhams,<sup>1</sup> where Mr. Carteret is to go to visit her tomorrow; and my proposal of waiting on him, he being to go alone to all persons strangers to him, was well accepted, and so I go with him. But, Lord! to see how kind my Lady Carteret is to her! Sends her most rich jewels, and provides bedding and things of all sorts most richly for her, which makes my Lady and me out of our wits almost to see the kindness she treats us all with, as if they would buy the young lady. Thence away home, and so to bed, to be up betimes by the help of a 'larum watch, which by chance I borrowed from my watchmaker today while my own is mending.

15th. Mr. Carteret and I to the ferry-place at Greenwich, and there stayed an hour crossing the water to and again to get our coach and horses over; and by and by set out, and so toward Dagenhams. But, Lord! what silly discourse we had as to love-matters, he being

<sup>1</sup> Dagenhams, near Romford, the seat of Lady Wright, widow of Sir Henry Wright, and sister of Lady Sandwich (see 27th March 1660).



the most awkward man ever I met with in my life as to that business. Thither we come, and by that time it begun to be dark, and were kindly received by Lady Wright and my Lord Crewe. And to discourse they went, my Lord discoursing with him, asking of him questions of travel, which he answered well enough in a few words; but nothing to the lady from him at all. To supper, and after supper to talk again, he yet taking no notice of the lady. My Lord would have had me have consented to leaving the young people together tonight, to begin their amours, his staying being but to be little. But I advised against it, lest the lady might be too much surprised. So they led him up to his chamber, where I stayed a little, to know how he liked the lady, which he told me he did mightily; but, Lord! in the dullest insipid manner that ever lover did. So I bid him good-night, and down to prayers with my Lord Crewe's family; and after prayers my Lord and Lady Wright and I to consult what to do; and it was agreed, at last, to have them go to church together as the family used to do, though his lameness was a great objection against it. But at last my Lady Jem sent me word by my Lady Wright, that it would be better to do just as they used to do before his coming; and therefore she desired to go to church, which was yielded then to.

16th. (Lord's day.) I up, having lain with Mr. Moore in the chaplain's chamber. And, having trimmed myself, down to Mr. Carteret; and he being ready, we down and walked in the gallery an hour or two, it being a most noble and pretty house that ever, for the bigness, I saw. Here I taught him what to do: to take the lady always by the hand to lead her, and telling him that I would find opportunity to leave them two together; he should make these and these compliments, and also take a time to do the like to Lord Crewe and Lady Wright. After I had instructed him, which he thanked me for, owning that he needed my teaching him, my Lord Crewe come down and family, the young lady among the rest; and so by coaches to church four miles off: where a pretty good sermon, and a declaration of penitence of a man that had undergone the Church's censure for his wicked life. Thence back again by coach, Mr. Carteret having not had the confidence to take his lady once by the hand, coming or going, which I told him of when we came home, and he will hereafter do it. So to dinner. My Lord excellent discourse. Then to walk in the gallery, and to sit down. By and by my Lady Wright and I go out, and then my Lord Crewe, he not by design, and lastly my Lady Crewe came out, and left the

young people together. And a little pretty daughter of my Lady Wright's most innocently came out afterwards, and shut the door to, as if she had done it, poor child, by inspiration: which made us without have good sport to laugh at. They together an hour, and by and by church-time, whither he led her into the coach and into the church, where several handsome ladies. But it was most extraordinary hot that ever I knew it. So home again, and to walk in the gardens, where we left the young couple a second time; and my Lady Wright and I to walk together, who tells me that some more new clothes must of necessity be made for Lady Jemimah, which and other things I took care of. Anon to supper, and excellent discourse and dispute between my Lord Crewe and the chaplain, who is a good scholar, but a nonconformist. Here this evening I spoke with Mrs. Carter, my old acquaintance, that hath lived with my Lady these twelve or thirteen years, the sum of all whose discourse and others for her is, that I would get her a good husband; which I have promised, but know not when I shall perform. After Mr. Carteret was carried to his chamber we to prayers, and then to bed.

17th. Up all of us, and to billiards—my Lady Wright, Mr. Carteret, myself, and everybody. By and by, the young couple left together. Anon to dinner; and after dinner Mr. Carteret took my advice about giving to the servants, and I led him to give £10 among them, which he did, by leaving it to the chief man-servant, Mr. Meadows, to do for him. Before we went I took my Lady Jem apart, and would know how she liked this gentleman, and whether she was under any difficulty concerning him. She blushed, and hid her face awhile; but at last I forced her to tell me. She answered that she could readily obey what her father and mother had done; which was all she could say, or I expect. So anon I took leave, and for London. But, Lord! to see, among other things, how all these great people here are afraid of London, being doubtful of anything that comes from thence, or that hath lately been there, that I was forced to say that I lived wholly at Woolwich. In our way Mr. Carteret did give me mighty thanks for my care and pains for him, and is mightily pleased, though the truth is, my Lady Jem hath carried herself with mighty discretion and gravity, not being forward at all in any degree, but mighty serious in her answers to him, as, by what he says and I observed, I collect. To London to my office, and so to Deptford, where mighty welcome, and brought the good news of all being pleased

to them. Mighty mirth at my giving them an account of all; but the young man could not be got to say one word before me or my Lady Sandwich of his adventures; but, by what he afterwards related to his father and mother and sisters, he gives an account that pleases them mightily. Here Sir G. Carteret would have me lie all night, which I did most nobly, better than ever I did in my life; Sir G. Carteret being mighty kind to me, leading me to my chamber. And all their care now is to have the business ended; and they have reason, because the sickness puts all out of order, and they cannot safely stay where they are.

18th. To the 'Change, where a little business, and a very thin Exchange; and so walked through London to the Temple, where I took water for Westminster to the Duke of Albemarle, to wait on him; and so to Westminster Hall, and there paid for my news-books, and did give Mrs. Michell, who is going out of town because of the sickness, and her husband, a pint of wine. I was much troubled this day to hear at Westminster how the officers do bury the dead in the open Tothill-fields, pretending want of room elsewhere; whereas the new chapel church-yard was walled in at the public charge in the last plague-time, merely for want of room; and now none, but such as are able to pay dear for it, can be buried there.

19th. To Deptford, where I find all full of joy, and preparing to go to Dagenhams tomorrow.

20th. To Deptford, and after dinner saw my Lady Sandwich and Mr. Carteret and his two sisters over the water, going to Dagenhams, and my Lady Carteret toward Cranborne.<sup>1</sup> Walked to Redriffe, where I hear the sickness is, and indeed is scattered almost everywhere, there dying 1089 of the plague this week. My Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me. I received yesterday a letter from my Lord Sandwich, giving me thanks for my care about their marriage business, and desiring it to be dispatched, that no disappointment may happen therein. Lord! to see how the plague spreads, it being now all over King's Street, at the Axe, and next door to it, and in other places.

21st. To Anthony Joyce's, and there broke to him my desire to have Pall married to Harman, whose wife, poor woman, is lately dead, to my trouble, I loving her very much; and he will

<sup>1</sup> The royal lodge of that name in Windsor Forest, occupied by Sir George Carteret, as vice-chamberlain to the king.

*July 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

consider it. Late at my chamber, setting some papers in order; the plague growing very raging, and my apprehensions of it great.

22d. The Duke of Albemarle being gone to dinner to my Lord of Canterbury's, I thither, and there walked and viewed the new hall, a new old-fashion hall as possible. Begun, and means left for the ending of it, by Bishop Juxon. To Fox-hall, where to the Spring Garden; but I do not see one guest there, the town being so empty of anybody to come thither. Only, while I was there, a poor woman came to scold with the master of the house that a kinswoman, I think, of hers, that was newly dead of the plague, might be buried in the church-yard; for, for her part, she should not be buried in the commons, as they said she should. I by coach home, not meeting with but two coaches and but two carts from White Hall to my own house, that I could observe, and the streets mighty thin of people. I met this noon with Dr. Burnett, who told me, and I find in the news-book this week, that he posted upon the 'Change that whoever did spread the report that, instead of dying of the plague, his servant was by him killed, it was forgery; and showed me the acknowledgment of the Master of the pest-house, that his servant died of a bubo on his right groin and two spots on his right thigh, which is the plague. All the news is great: that we must of necessity fall out with France, for He will side with the Dutch against us. That Alderman Backwell is gone over, which indeed he is, with money, and that Ostend is in our present possession. But it is strange to see how poor Alderman Backwell is like to be put to it in his absence, Mr. Shaw, his right hand, being ill. And the alderman's absence gives doubts to people, and I perceive they are in great straits for money, besides what Sir G. Carteret told me about fourteen days ago. Our fleet, under my Lord Sandwich, being about the latitude  $55\frac{1}{2}$ , which is a great secret, to the Northward of the Texel.

23d. (Lord's day.) Called by Mr. Cutler, by appointment, and with him, in his coach and four horses, over London Bridge to Kingston, a very pleasant journey, and to Hampton Court by nine o'clock. I followed the King to chapel, and there heard a good sermon; and after sermon with my Lord Arlington, Sir Thomas Ingram, and others, spoke to the Duke about Tangier, but not to much purpose. I was not invited anywhere to dinner, though a stranger, which did also trouble me; but yet I must remember it is a Court, and indeed where most are strangers. But, however, Cutler carried me to Mr. Marriott's the housekeeper, and there

we had a very good dinner and good company, among others Lely, the painter. Thence to the Council-chamber, but the Council begun late to sit; so that when I was free, and come back to look for Cutler, he was gone with his coach, without leaving any word with anybody to tell me so; so that I was forced with great trouble to walk up and down, looking of him, and at last forced to get a boat to carry me to Kingston, and there, after eating a bit at a neat inn, which pleased me well, I took boat, and slept all the way, without intermission, from thence to Queenhithe, where, it being about two o'clock, too late and too soon to go home to bed, I lay and slept till about four.

24th. Up and home, and there dressed myself, and by appointment to Deptford, to Sir G. Carteret's, between six and seven o'clock; where I found him and my Lady almost ready, and by and by went over to the ferry, and took coach and six horses nobly for Dagenhams, himself and lady, and their little daughter Louisonne<sup>1</sup> and myself in the coach, where, when we came, we were bravely entertained, and spent the day most pleasantly with the young ladies, and I so merry as never more. Here with great content all the day, as I think I ever passed a day in my life, because of the contentfulness of our errand, and the nobleness of the company, and our manner of going. But I find Mr. Carteret yet as backward almost in his carresses as he was the first day. At night, about seven o'clock, took coach again; but, Lord! to see in what a pleasant humour Sir G. Carteret hath been both coming and going—so light, so fond, so merry, so boyish, so much content he takes in this business—it is one of the greatest wonders I ever saw in my mind. But once in serious discourse he did say that, if he knew his son to be a debauchee, as many and most are nowadays about the Court, he would tell it, and my Lady Jem. should not have him; and so enlarged both he and she about the baseness and looseness of the Court, and told several stories of the Duke of Monmouth and Richmond, and some great person, my Lord of Ormond's second son, married to a lady<sup>2</sup> of extraordinary quality, fit, and that might have been made a wife for the King himself, about six months since; and discoursed how much this would oblige the

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28th. Set out with my Lady, all alone with her, with six horses to Dagenhams; going by water to the ferry. And a pleasant going, and a good discourse; and, when there, very merry, and the young couple now well acquainted. But, Lord! to see in what fear all the people here do live. How they are afraid of us that come to them, insomuch that I am troubled at it, and wish myself away. But some cause they have; for the chaplain, with whom, but a week or two ago, we were here mighty high disputing, is since fallen into a fever, and dead, being gone hence to a friend's a good way off. A sober and a healthful man. These considerations make us all hasten the marriage, and resolve it upon Monday next, which is three days before we intended it.

29th. Up betimes, and, after viewing some of my wife's pictures, which now she is come to do very finely, to the office. At noon to dinner, where I hear that my Will is come in thither, and laid down upon my bed, ill of the headache, which put me into extraordinary fear; and I studied all I could to get him out of the house, and set my people to work to do it without discouraging him, and myself went forth to the Old Exchange, to pay my fair Batelier for some linen, and took leave of her, they breaking up shop for a while. And so by coach to Kate Joyce's, and there used all the vehemence and rhetoric I could to get her husband to let her go down to Brampton; but I could not prevail with him, he urging some simple reasons, but most that of profit, minding the house, and the distance, if either of them should be ill. However, I did my best, and more than I had a mind to do, but that I saw him so resolved against it, while she was mightily troubled at it. At last he yielded she should go to Windsor, to some friends there: so I took my leave of them, believing that it is great odds that we ever all see one another again; for I dare not go any more to that end of the town. Will is gone to his lodging, and is likely to do well, it being only the headache.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up, and in my night-gown, cap, and neck-cloth, undressed, all day long, lost not a minute; but in my chamber,



setting my Tangier accounts to rights. Will is very well again. It was a sad noise to hear our bell to toll and ring so often today, either for deaths or burials; I think, five or six times.

31st. Up, and very betimes by six o'clock at Deptford, and there find Sir G. Carteret, and my Lady ready to go: I being in my new coloured silk suit, and coat trimmed with gold buttons and gold broad lace round my hands, very rich and fine. By water to the ferry, where, when we come, no coach there; and tide of ebb so far spent as the horse-boat could not get off on the other side the river to bring away the coach. So we were fain to stay there in the unlucky Isle of Dogs, in a chill place, the morning cool, and wind fresh, above two, if not three hours, to our great discontent. Yet, being upon a pleasant errand, and seeing that it could not be helped, we did bear it very patiently; and it was worth my observing to see how, upon these two scores, Sir G. Carteret, the most passionate man in the world, and that was in greatest haste to be gone, did bear with it, and very pleasant all the while, at least not troubled so much as to fret and storm at it. Anon the coach comes: in the meantime, there coming a News thither with his horse to go over, that told us he did come from Islington this morning; and that Proctor, the vintner, of the Mitre, in Wood Street, and his son, are dead this morning there, of the plague: he having laid out abundance of money there, and was the greatest vintner for some time in London for great entertainments. We, fearing the canonical hour would be past before we got thither, did, with a great deal of unwillingness, send away the licence and wedding-ring. So that when we come, though we drove hard with six horses, yet we found them gone from home; and, going towards the church, met them coming from church, which troubled us. But, however, that trouble was soon over, hearing it was well done: they being both in their old clothes; my Lord Crewe giving her; there being three coachfuls of them. The young lady mighty sad, which troubled me; but yet I think it was only her gravity in a little greater degree than usual. All saluted her, but I did not, till my Lady Sandwich did ask me whether I had saluted her or no. So to dinner, and very merry we were; but in such a sober way as never almost any wedding was in so great families: but it was much better. After dinner company divided, some to cards, others to talk. My Lady Sandwich and I up to settle accounts and pay her some money. And mighty kind she is to me, and would fain have had me gone down for company with her to Hinchinbroke;

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call the cook of the house, a very lusty fellow, as Sir G. Carteret's cook, who is very big: and they did raise him just in the same manner.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the strangest things I ever heard, but he tells it me of his own knowledge, and I do heartily believe it to be true. I enquired of him whether they were Protestant or Catholic girls; and he told me they were Protestant, which made it the more strange to me. Thus we end this month, as I said, after the greatest glut of content that ever I had; only under some difficulty because of the plague, which grows mightily upon us, the last week being about 1,700 or 1,800 of the plague. My Lord Sandwich at sea with a fleet of about 100 sail, to the Northward, expecting De Ruyter or the Dutch East India fleet. My Lord Hinchinbroke coming over from France and will meet his sister at Scott's Hall. Myself having obliged both these families in this business very much; as both my Lady and Sir G. Carteret and his Lady do confess exceedingly, and the latter do also now call me cousin, which I am glad of. So God preserve us all friends long, and continue health among us!

August 1st. Lay long; then up, and my Lord Crewe and Sir G. Carteret being gone abroad, I first to see the bridegroom and bride, and found them both up, and he gone to dress himself. Thence down, and Mr. Brisband and I to billiards. Anon come my Lord and Sir G. Carteret in, who have been looking abroad and visiting some farms that Sir G. Carteret hath thereabouts, and, among other things, report the greatest stories of the bigness of the calves they find there, ready to sell to the butchers—as big, they say, as little cows, and that they do give them a piece of chalk to lick, which they hold makes them white in the flesh within. About five o'clock Sir G. Carteret and his lady and I took coach with the greatest joy. Drove hard, and it was night ere we got to Deptford, where, with much kindness from them to me, I left them, and home to the office, where I find all well.

2d. Up, it being a public fast, as being the first Wednesday of the month, for the plague; I within doors all day, and upon my monthly accounts late. I did find myself really worth £1,900, for which the great God of Heaven and Earth be praised!

3d. Up, and betimes to Deptford to Sir G. Carteret's, where, not liking the horse which had been hired by Mr. Unthwayt for me, I did desire Sir G. Carteret to let me ride his new £40 horse; and so

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*July 1665*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

Deptford I 'light and walked over to Half-way house, and so home, in my way being shown my cousin Patience's house, which seems, at distance, a pretty house. At home met the weekly Bill, where above 1000 increased in the Bill; and of them, in all, about 1700 of the plague, which hath made the Officers this day resolve of sitting at Deptford, which puts me to some consideration what to do.

28th. Set out with my Lady, all alone with her, with six horses to Dagenhams; going by water to the ferry. And a pleasant going, and a good discourse; and, when there, very merry, and the young couple now well acquainted. But, Lord! to see in what fear all the people here do live. How they are afraid of us that come to them, insomuch that I am troubled at it, and wish myself away. But some cause they have; for the chaplain, with whom, but a week or two ago, we were here mighty high disputing, is since fallen into a fever, and dead, being gone hence to a friend's a good way off. A sober and a healthful man. These considerations make us all hasten the marriage, and resolve it upon Monday next, which is three days before we intended it.

29th. Up betimes, and, after viewing some of my wife's pictures, which now she is come to do very finely, to the office. At noon to dinner, where I hear that my Will is come in thither, and laid down upon my bed, ill of the headache, which put me into extraordinary fear; and I studied all I could to get him out of the house, and set my people to work to do it without discouraging him, and myself went forth to the Old Exchange, to pay my fair Batelier for some linen, and took leave of her, they breaking up shop for a while. And so by coach to Kate Joyce's, and there used all the vehemence and rhetoric I could to get her husband to let her go down to Brampton; but I could not prevail with him, he urging some simple reasons, but most that of profit, minding the house, and the distance, if either of them should be ill. However, I did my best, and more than I had a mind to do, but that I saw him so resolved against it, while she was mightily troubled at it. At last he yielded she should go to Windsor, to some friends there: so I took my leave of them, believing that it is great odds that we ever all see one another again; for I dare not go any more to that end of the town. Will is gone to his lodging, and is likely to do well, it being only the headache.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up, and in my night-gown, cap, and neck-cloth, undressed, all day long, lost not a minute; but in my chamber,

call the cook of the house, a very lusty fellow, as Sir G. Carteret's cook, who is very big: and they did raise him just in the same manner.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the strangest things I ever heard, but he tells it me of his own knowledge, and I do heartily believe it to be true. I enquired of him whether they were Protestant or Catholic girls; and he told me they were Protestant, which made it the more strange to me. Thus we end this month, as I said, after the greatest glut of content that ever I had; only under some difficulty because of the plague, which grows mightily upon us, the last week being about 1,700 or 1,800 of the plague. My Lord Sandwich at sea with a fleet of about 100 sail, to the Northward, expecting De Ruyter or the Dutch East India fleet. My Lord Hinchinbroke coming over from France and will meet his sister at Scott's Hall. Myself having obliged both these families in this business very much; as both my Lady and Sir G. Carteret and his Lady do confess exceedingly, and the latter do also now call me cousin, which I am glad of. So God preserve us all friends long, and continue health among us!

August 1st. Lay long; then up, and my Lord Crewe and Sir G. Carteret being gone abroad, I first to see the bridegroom and bride, and found them both up, and he gone to dress himself. Thence down, and Mr. Brisband and I to billiards. Anon come my Lord and Sir G. Carteret in, who have been looking abroad and visiting some farms that Sir G. Carteret hath thereabouts, and, among other things, report the greatest stories of the bigness of the calves they find there, ready to sell to the butchers—as big, they say, as little cows, and that they do give them a piece of chalk to lick, which they hold makes them white in the flesh within. About five o'clock Sir G. Carteret and his lady and I took coach with the greatest joy. Drove hard, and it was night ere we got to Deptford, where, with much kindness from them to me, I left them, and home to the office, where I find all well.

2d. Up, it being a public fast, as being the first Wednesday of the month, for the plague; I within doors all day, and upon my monthly accounts late. I did find myself really worth £1,900, for which the great God of Heaven and Earth be praised!

3d. Up, and betimes to Deptford to Sir G. Carteret's, where, not liking the horse which had been hired by Mr. Unthwayt for me, I did desire Sir G. Carteret to let me ride his new £40 horse; and so

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they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the nights not sufficing to do it in. And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for air. There is one also dead out of one of our ships at Deptford, which troubles us mightily—the Providence, fire-ship, which was just fitted to go to sea; but they tell me, today, no more sick on board. And this day W. Bodham tells me that one is dead at Woolwich, not far from the Rope-yard. I am told, too, that a wife of one of the grooms at Court is dead at Salisbury; so that the King and Queen are speedily to be all gone to Wilton.<sup>1</sup> So God preserve us!

13th. (Lord's day.) It being very wet all day, clearing all matters in packing up my papers and books, and giving instructions in writing to my executors, thereby perfecting the whole business of my Will, to my very great joy; so that I shall be in much better state of soul, I hope, if it should please the Lord to call me away this sickly time. I find myself worth, besides Brampton estates, the sum of £2,164, for which the Lord be praised!

14th. Down to Deptford to Sir G. Carteret; and, among other things, he told me that he was not for the fanfaroon,<sup>2</sup> to make a show with a great title, as he might have had long since, but the main thing to get an estate; and another thing, speaking of minding of business, 'By God,' says he, 'I will, and have already almost brought it to that pass, that the King shall not be able to whip a cat, but I must be at the tail of it!' meaning, so necessary he is, and the King and my Lord Treasurer all do confess it; which, while I mind my business, is my own case in this office of the Navy. To Sir W. Batten's where, after dinner, beat Captain Cocke at billiards; won about 8s. of him and my Lord Brouncker. So in the evening to Woolwich, where supped with my wife. This night I did present my wife with a diamond ring, awhile since given me by Mr. Vines's brother for helping him to be a purser, valued at about £10, the first thing of that nature I did ever give her. Great fears we have that the plague will be a great Bill this week.

15th. Up by four o'clock and walked to Greenwich; and something put my last night's dream of Lady Castlemaine into my head, which I think is the best that ever was dreamt. And I dreamed that this could not be awake, but that it was only a dream; but that since it was a dream, and that I took so much real pleasure in

<sup>1</sup> Near Salisbury, then the seat of Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke.

<sup>2</sup> Swaggerer, boaster.



it, what a happy thing it would be if when we are in our graves (as Shakespeare resembles it) we could dream, and dream but such dreams as this, that we should not need to be so fearful of death as we are this plague-time. It was dark before I could get home, and so land at Church-yard stairs, where, to my great trouble, I met a dead corpse of the plague, in the narrow alley, just bringing down a little pair of stairs. But I thank God I was not much disturbed at it. However, I shall beware of being late abroad again.

16th. To the Exchange, where I have not been a great while. But, Lord! how sad a sight it is to see the streets empty of people, and very few upon the 'Change! Jealous of every door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague; and about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up. This day I had the ill news from Dagenhams that my poor Lord of Hinchinbroke his indisposition is turned to the small-pox. Poor gentleman! that he should be come from France so soon to fall sick, and of that disease too, when he should be gone to see a fine lady, his mistress! I am most heartily sorry for it.

17th. By boat to Greenwich to the bezan yacht, where Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, my Lord Brouncker, and myself embarked in the yacht, and down we went most pleasantly. Short of Gravesend it grew calm, and so we came to an anchor, and to supper mighty merry; and then, as we grew sleepy, upon velvet cushions of the King's that belong to the yacht, fell to sleep.

18th. To Sheerness, where we walked up and down, laying out the ground <sup>1</sup> to be taken in for a yard to lay provisions for cleaning and repairing of ships, and a most proper place it is for the purpose. Thence with great pleasure up the Medway, our yacht contending with Commisisoner Pett's, and he had the best of it. So to Chatham and there dined, and after dinner spent some time discoursing of business. Late in the dark to Gravesend, where great is the plague, and I troubled to stay there so long for the tide. At ten at night I took boat alone, and to the Tower docks about three o'clock in the morning. So knocked up my people, and to bed.

19th. Met with letters from the King and Lord Arlington, for the removal of our office to Greenwich. I also wrote letters, and made myself ready to go to Sir G. Carteret at Windsor; and, having borrowed a horse of Mr. Blackbrough, sent him to wait for

<sup>1</sup> The yard and fortifications of Sheerness were designed and first 'staked out' by Sir Bernard de Gomme. The original plan is in the British Museum.

me at the Duke of Albemarle's door: when, on a sudden, a letter comes to us from the Duke of Albemarle, to tell us that the fleet is all come back to Sole Bay, and are presently to be dispatched back again. Whereupon I presently by water to the Duke of Albemarle, to know what news; and there I saw a letter from my Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Albemarle, and also from Sir W. Coventry and Captain Teddiman: how my Lord having commanded Teddiman, with twenty-two ships (of which but fifteen could get thither, and of those fifteen but eight or nine could come up to play), to go to Bergen;<sup>1</sup> where, after several messages to and from the Governor of the Castle, urging that Teddiman ought not to come thither with more than five ships, and desiring time to think of it (all the while he suffering the Dutch ships to land their guns to the best advantage), Teddiman, on the second pretence, began to play at the Dutch ships, whereof ten East Indiamen, and in three hours' time, the town and castle, without any provocation, playing on our ships, they did cut all our cables, so as the wind being off the land did force us to go out, and rendered our fire-ships useless, without doing anything, but what hurt of course our guns must have done them: we having lost five commanders, besides Mr. Edward Montagu and Mr. Windham.<sup>2</sup> Our fleet is come home, to our great grief, with not above five weeks' dry and six days' wet provisions: however, must go out again; and the Duke hath ordered the Sovereign,<sup>3</sup> and all other ships ready, to go out to the fleet to strengthen them. This news troubles us all, but cannot be helped. Having read all this news, and received commands of the Duke with great content, he giving me the words which, to my great joy, he hath several times said to me, that his greatest reliance is upon me; and my Lord Craven also did come out to talk with me, and told me that I am in mighty esteem with the Duke, for which I bless God. Home; and having given my fellow officers an account hereof at Chatham, and wrote other letters, I by water to Charing Cross, to the post-house, and there the people tell me they are shut

<sup>1</sup> A view of this attack on Bergen, 'described from the life in Aug., 1665, by C. H.,' being a contemporary-coloured drawing, on vellum, showing the range of the ships engaged, is in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> He was probably one of the brothers of Sir Wm. Wyndham, Bart.

<sup>3</sup> This ship was built at Woolwich dockyard in 1637. Her tonnage corresponded with the year, and she was the first vessel built with 'flushe decks,' and the largest up to that period belonging to the English navy. Her keel measured 187 feet 9 inches; her main breadth 48 feet 4 inches, and she had three decks, a poop, and top-gallant forecastle. She was pierced for 126 guns.

up; and so I went to the new post-house, and there got a guide and horses to Hounslow. So to Staines, and there, by this time, it was dark night, and got a guide, who lost his way in the forest, till, by help of the moon, which recompenses me for all the pains I ever took about studying of her motions, I led my guide into the way back again. And so we made a man rise that kept a gate, and so he carried us to Cranborne, where, in the dark, I perceive an old house new building, with a great deal of rubbish, and was fain to go up a ladder to Sir G. Carteret's chamber. And there, in his bed, I sat down, and told him all my bad news, which troubled him mightily. But yet we were very merry, and made the best of it; and being myself weary, did take leave; and, after having spoken with Mr. Fenn in bed, I to bed in my Lady's chamber that she uses to lie in, where the Duchess of York that now is was born. So to sleep, being very well but weary, and the better by having carried with me a bottle of strong water, whereof, now and then, a sip did me good.

20th. (Lord's day.) Sir G. Carteret came and walked by my bedside half an hour, talking, and telling how my Lord is unblamable in all this ill success, he having followed orders; and that all ought to be imputed to the falseness of the King of Denmark, who, he told me as a secret, had promised to deliver up the Dutch ships to us, and we expected no less; and swears it will, and will easily, be the ruin of him and his kingdom, if we fall out with him, as we must in honour do; but that all that can be, must be to get the fleet out again, to intercept De Witt, who certainly will be coming home with the East India fleet, he being gone thither. He being gone, I up, and to walk forth to see the place; and I find it to be a very noble seat in a noble forest, with the noblest prospect towards Windsor, and round about over many counties, that can be desired; but otherwise a very melancholy place, and little variety, save only trees. So took horse for Staines, and thence to Brentford, to Mr. Povy's. Mr. Povy not being at home, I lost my labour—only eat and drank there with his lady, and told my bad news, and hear the plague is round about them there. So away to Brentford; and there, at the inn that goes down to the waterside, I 'light and paid off my post-horses, and so slipped on my shoes, and laid my things by, the tide not serving, and to church, where a dull sermon, and many Londoners. After church to my inn, and eat and drank, and so about seven o'clock by water, and got, between nine and ten, to Queenhithe, very dark; and I

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ever was in in my life, both as to the quantity and the certainty I have of the money I am worth, having most of it in my hand. But then this is a trouble to me, what to do with it, being myself this day going to be wholly at Woolwich; but for the present I am resolved to venture it in an iron chest—at least for a while. Just now comes news that the fleet is gone, or going this day, out again, for which God be praised! and my Lord Sandwich hath done himself great right in it, in getting so soon out again. To Woolwich, where I met my wife walking to the water-side, with her painter, Mr. Browne, and her maids. There I met Commissioner Pett, and my Lord Brouncker, and the lady at his house had been there today, to see her.

29th. To Greenwich, and called at Sir Theophilus Biddulph's, a sober, discreet man, to discourse of the preventing of the plague in Greenwich and Woolwich and Deptford, where in every place it begins to grow very great.

30th. Abroad, and met with Hadley, our clerk, who, upon my asking how the plague goes, told me it increases much, and much in our parish; 'for,' says he, 'there died nine this week, though I have returned but six': which is a very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places, and therefore the plague much greater than people take it to be. I went forth, and walked towards Moorfields to see, God forgive my presumption! whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave; but, as God would have it, did not. But, Lord! how everybody's looks and discourse in the street is of death, and nothing else; and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken. To my great joy do find myself worth £2,180 and add beside plate and goods which I value at £250 more.

31st. Up: and, after putting several things in order to my removal, to Woolwich; the plague having a great increase this week, beyond all expectation, of almost 2,000, making the general Bill 7,000, odd 100; and the plague above 6,000. Thus this month ends with great sadness upon the public, through the greatness of the plague everywhere through the kingdom almost. Every day sadder and sadder news of its increase. In the City died this week 7,496, and of them 6,102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000: partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them. Our fleet gone out to find the Dutch,

we having about 100 sail in our fleet, and in them the Sovereign one; so that it is a better fleet than the former with which the Duke was. All our fear is that the Dutch should be got in before them; which would be a very great sorrow to the public, and to me particularly, for my Lord Sandwich's sake: a great deal of money being spent, and the kingdom not in a condition to spare, nor a Parliament, without much difficulty to meet, to give more. And to that, to have it said, what hath been done by our late fleets? As to myself, I am very well, only in fear of the plague, and as much of an ague, by being forced to go early and late to Woolwich, and my family to lie there continually. My late gettings have been very great, to my great content, and am likely to have yet a few more profitable jobs in a little while; for which Tangier and Sir W. Warren I am wholly obliged to.

September 1st. At the Duke of Albemarle's I overheard some examinations of the late plot that is discoursed of, and a great deal of do there is about it. Among other discourses, I heard read an examination and discourse of Sir Philip Howard's,<sup>1</sup> with one of the plotting party. In many places, these words being, 'Then said Sir P. Howard, "If you so come over to the King, and be faithful to him, you shall be maintained, and be set up with a horse and arms,"' and I know not what. And then said such a one, 'Yes, I will be true to the King.' 'But, damn me,' said Sir Philip, 'will you so and so?' And thus I believe twelve times Sir P. Howard answered him a 'damn me,' which was a fine way of rhetoric to persuade a Quaker or Anabaptist from his persuasion. And this was read in the hearing of Sir P. Howard, before the Duke and twenty more officers, and they made sport of it, only without any reproach or he being anything ashamed of it. But the plotter did at last bid them remember that he had not told them what King he would be faithful to.

3d. (Lord's day.) Up, and put on my coloured silk suit, very fine, and my new periwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done, as to periwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any hair, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague. I took my Lady Pen home, and her daughter Pegg; and, after dinner I made my wife show them her pictures, which did mad Pegg Pen, who learnt of the same man. After dinner by

<sup>1</sup> Seventh son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire.

water to Greenwich, where much ado to be suffered to come into town because of the sickness, for fear I should come from London, till I told them who I was. Church being done, my Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I up to the Vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but, Lord! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will, because they are forbid, come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate, methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the town, for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it, having put it into new fresh clothes, to Greenwich; where, upon hearing the story, we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the town. By water to Woolwich, in great apprehensions of an ague. Here was my Lord Brouncker's lady of pleasure,<sup>1</sup> who, I perceive, goes everywhere with him; and he, I find, is obliged to carry her, and make all the courtship to her that can be.

4th. Walked home, my Lord Brouncker giving me a very neat cane to walk with; but it troubled me to pass by Combe farm, where about twenty-one people have died of the plague.

5th. After dinner comes Colonel Blunt, in his new chariot made with springs, as that was of wicker, wherein awhile since we rode at his house. And he hath rode, he says, now this journey, many miles in it with one horse, and outdrives any coach, and outgoes any horse, and so easy, he says. So, for curiosity, I went into it to try it, and up the hill<sup>2</sup> to the heath,<sup>3</sup> and over the cart-ruts, and found it pretty well, but not so easy as he pretends.

6th. To London, to pack up more things; and there I saw fires burning in the street, as it is through the whole City, by the Lord Mayor's order. Thence by water to the Duke of Albemarle's: all the way fires on each side of the Thames, and strange to see in broad daylight two or three burials upon the Bankside, one at the very heels of another: doubtless, all of the plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going along with every one of them. The

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Williams.<sup>2</sup> Shooters' Hill.<sup>3</sup> Blackheath.



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<sup>1</sup> Seventh son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire.

myself warm, and by water got to Woolwich, about one in the morning.

8th. Comes my Lord Brouncker, and we to the enquiring into the late desertion of the shipwrights from work, who had left us for three days together for want of money; and brought it to a pretty good issue, that they, we believe, will come tomorrow to work. To dinner, having but a mean one, yet sufficient for him, and he well enough pleased, besides that I do not desire to vie entertainments with him or anyone else.

9th. To my Lord Brouncker's, all of us, to dinner, where a good venison pasty, and mighty merry. Here was Sir W. Doyly,<sup>1</sup> lately come from Ipswich about the sick and wounded, and Mr. Evelyn and Captain Cocke. My wife also was sent for by my Lord Brouncker, and was here. After dinner my Lord and his mistress would see her home again, it being a most rainy afternoon, and I, forced to go to the office on foot, was almost wet to the skin, and spoiled my silk breeches almost. I was forced to get a bed at Captain Cocke's, where I find Sir W. Doyly, and he and Evelyn at supper; and I with them full of discourse of the neglect of our masters, the Great Officers of State, about all business, and especially that of money: having now some thousands prisoners, kept to no purpose at a great charge, and no money provided almost for the doing of it. We fell to talk largely of the want of some persons understanding to look after businesses, but all goes to rack. 'For,' says Captain Cocke, 'my Lord Treasurer, he minds his ease, and lets things go how they will: if he can have his £8,000 per annum and a game at l'Ombre, he is well. My Lord Chancellor, he minds getting of money and nothing else; and my Lord Ashley will rob the Devil and the Altar, but he will get money if it be to be got.' But that which puts us into this great melancholy, was news brought today, which Captain Cocke reports as a certain truth, that all the Dutch fleet, men-of-war and merchant East India ships, are got every one in from Bergen the 3d of this month, Sunday last; which will make us all ridiculous. The fleet come home with shame to require a great deal of money which is not to be had. Full of these melancholy thoughts, to bed; where, though I lay the softest I ever did in my life, with a down-bed, after

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Doyly, of Shotesham, Norfolk, knighted 1642, created a baronet 1663: M.P. for Yarmouth: *ob.* 1677. He and Evelyn were at this time appointed commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded seamen and prisoners of war.

the Danish manner, upon me, yet I slept very ill, chiefly through the thoughts of my Lord Sandwich's concernment in all this ill success at sea.

10th. (Lord's day.) Walked home, being forced thereto by one of my watermen falling sick yesterday; and it was God's great mercy I did not go by water with them yesterday, for he fell sick on Saturday night, and it is to be feared of the plague. So I sent him away to London with his fellow; but another boat came to me this morning. My wife, before I came out, telling me the ill news that she hears, that her father is very ill, and then I told her I feared of the plague, for that the house is shut up. And so she much troubled, and did desire me to send them something; and I said I would, and will do so. But before I come out there happened news to come to me by an express from Mr. Coventry, telling me the most happy news of my Lord Sandwich's meeting with part of the Dutch; his taking two of their East India ships, and six or seven others, and very good prizes:<sup>1</sup> and that he is in search of the rest of the fleet, which he hopes to find upon the Wellbank, with the loss only of the Hector, poor Captain Cuttle. To Greenwich, and there sending away Mr. Andrews, I to Captain Cocke's, where I find my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and Sir J. Minnes, where we supped; there was also Sir W. Doyly and Mr. Evelyn; but the receipt of this news did put us all into such an ecstasy of joy, that it inspired into Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Evelyn such a spirit of mirth, that in all my life I never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was. Among other humours, Mr. Evelyn's repeating of some verses made up of nothing but the various acceptations of *may* and *can*, and doing it so aptly upon occasion of something of that nature, and so fast, did make us all die almost with laughing, and did so stop the mouth of Sir J. Minnes in the middle of all his mirth (and in a thing agreeing with his own manner of genius), that I never saw any man so outdone in all my life; and Sir J. Minnes's mirth, too, to see himself outdone, was the crown of all our mirth. In this humour we sat till about ten at night, and so my Lord and his mistress home, and we to bed, it being one of the times of my life wherein I was the fullest of true sense of joy.

11th. Over to the ferry, where Sir W. Batten's coach was ready for us, and to Walthamstow drove merrily, and there a good plain venison dinner. After dinner to billiards, where I won an

<sup>1</sup> These prizes, it will be seen, caused great trouble.

angel. Sir W. Hickes<sup>1</sup> was there, and my Lady Batten invited herself to dine with him this week, and she invited us all to dine with her there, which we agreed to, only to vex him, he being the most niggardly fellow, it seems, in the world. Full of good victuals and mirth, we set homewards in the evening, and very merry all the way. So to Greenwich, where I find my Lord Rutherford and Creed come from Court, and have brought me several orders for money to pay for Tangier; and, among the rest, £7,000 and more, to this Lord, which is an excellent thing to consider, that, though they can do nothing else, they can give away the King's money upon their progress. I did give him the best answer I could to pay him with tallies, and that is all they could get from me.

12th. My wife shows me a letter from her brother, speaking of their father being ill, like to die, which, God forgive me! did not trouble me so much as it should, though I was indeed sorry for it. I did presently resolve to send him something in a letter from my wife, viz. 20s. So to bed.

13th. To Greenwich, taking pleasure to walk with my minute watch in my hand, and I do find myself to come within two minutes constantly to the same place at the end of each quarter of an hour. My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I took boat, and in my Lord's coach to Sir W. Hickes's, whither, by and by, my Lady Batten and Sir William comes. It is a good seat, with a fair grove of trees by it, and the remains of a good garden; but so let to run to ruin, both house and everything in and about it, so ill furnished and miserably looked after, I never did see in all my life. Not so much as a latch to his dining-room door; which saved him nothing, for the wind, blowing into the room for want thereof, flung down a great bow-pot<sup>2</sup> that stood upon the side-table, and that fell upon some Venice glasses, and did him a crown's worth of hurt. He did give us the meanest dinner (of beef, shoulder and umbles of venison, which he takes away from the keeper of the Forest,<sup>3</sup> and a few pigeons, and all in the meanest manner) that ever I did see, to the basest degree. I was only pleased at a very fine picture of the Queen-mother when she was young, by Vandyck; a very good picture, and a lovely sweet face.

14th. To London, where I have not been now a pretty while. To the Duke of Albemarle, where I find a letter of the 12th, from

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Hickes, created a baronet 1619: *ob.* 1680, aged eighty-four.

<sup>2</sup> Flower-pot.

<sup>3</sup> Epping Forest, of which he was ranger.

Sole Bay, from my Lord Sandwich, of the fleet's meeting with about eighteen more of the Dutch fleet, and his taking of most of them; and the messenger says, they had taken thrce after the letter was wrote and sealed; which being twenty-one, and the fourteen took the other day, is thirty-five sail; some of which are good, and others rich ships. And, having taken a copy of my Lord's letter, I away back again to the Bear at the bridge-foot, and there called for a biscuit and a piece of cheese and a gill of sack, being forced to walk over the bridge toward the 'Change, the plague being all thereabouts. Here my news was highly welcome, and I did wonder to see the 'Change so full, I believe zoo people; but not a man or merchant of any fashion, but plain men all. And, Lord! to see how I did endeavour all I could to talk with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the plague upon them. I spent some thoughts upon the occurrences of this day, giving matter for as much content on one hand, and melancholy on another, as any day in all my life. For the first, the finding of my money and plate and all safe at London, and speeding in my business of money this day. The hearing of this good news to such excess, after so great a despair of my Lord's doing anything this year; adding to that, the decrease of 500 and more, which is the first decrease we have yet had in the sickness since it begun; and great hopes that the next week it will be greater. Then, on the other side, my finding that though the Bill in general is abated, yet the City, within the walls, is increased, and likely to continue so, and is close to our house there. My meeting dead corpses of the plague, carried to be buried close to me at noon-day through the City in Fenchurch Street. To see a person sick of the sores carried close by me by Gracechurch in a hackney coach. My finding the Angel tavern, at the lower end of Tower Hill, shut up; and more than that, the alehouse at the Tower Stairs; and more than that, the person was then dying of the plague when I was last there, a little while ago, at night. To hear that poor Payne, my waiter, hath buried a child, and is dying himself. To hear that a labourer I sent but the other day to Dagenhams, to know how they did there, is dead of the plague; and that one of my own watermen, that carried me daily, fell sick as soon as he had landed me on Friday morning last, when I had been all night upon the water, and I believe he did get his infection that day at Brentford, and is now dead of the plague. To hear that Captain

Lambert and Cuttle are killed in the taking these ships; and that Mr. Sidney Montagu is sick of a desperate fever at my Lady Carteret's, at Scott's Hall. To hear that Mr. Lewes hath another daughter sick. And, lastly, that both my servants, W. Hewer and Tom Edwards, have lost their fathers, both in St. Sepulchre's parish, of the plague this week, do put me into great apprehensions of melancholy, and with good reason. But I put off my thoughts of sadness as much as I can, and the rather to keep my wife in good heart, and family also.

15th. With Captain Cocke, and there drank a cup of good drink, which I am fain to allow myself during this plague time, by advice of all, and not contrary to my oath, my physician being dead, and surgeon out of the way, whose advice I am obliged to take. In much pain to think what I shall do this winter time; for go every day to Woolwich I cannot without endangering my life; and staying from my wife at Greenwich is not handsome.

16th. To the office, where I find Sir J. Minnes gone to the fleet, like a doting fool, to do no good, but proclaim himself an ass; for no service he can do here, nor inform my Lord, who is come in thither to the buoy of the Nore, in anything worth his knowledge. At noon to dinner to my Lord Brouncker, and very merry we were, only that the discourse of the likelihood of the increase of the plague this week makes us a little sad; but then again the thoughts of the late prizes make us glad. To Captain Cocke's, meaning to lie there, it being late; and he not being at home, I walked to him to my Lord Brouncker's, and there stayed a while, they being at tables;<sup>1</sup> and so by and by parted, and walked to his house; and, after a mess of good broth, to bed, in great pleasure, his company being most excellent.

17th. (Lord's day.) To church, where a company of fine people, and a fine church, and very good sermon, Mr. Plume<sup>2</sup> being a very excellent scholar and preacher. To Woolwich, and in the bezan yacht to below Gravesend, and there come to anchor for all night, and supped and talked, and with much pleasure at last settled ourselves to sleep, having very good lodgings upon cushions in the cabin.

18th. By break of day we come to within sight of the fleet, which was a very fine thing to behold, being above 100 ships,

<sup>1</sup> Tables, better known, at present, by the name of backgammon.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Plume, D.D., vicar of Greenwich, 1658, and installed Arch-deacon of Rochester, 1679: *ob.* 1704.

great and small; with the flag-ships of each squadron, distinguished by their several flags on their main, fore, or mizen masts. Among others, the Sovereign, Charles, and Prince; in the last of which my Lord Sandwich was. And so we come on board, and we find my Lord Sandwich newly up in his night-gown very well. He received us kindly, telling us the state of the fleet, lacking provisions, having no beer at all, nor have had, most of them, these three weeks or month, and but few days' dry provisions. And indeed he tells us that he believes no fleet was ever set to sea in so ill condition of provision, as this was when it went out last. He did inform us in the business of Bergen, so as to let us see how the judgment of the world is not to be depended on in things they know not; it being a place just wide enough, and not so much hardly, for ships to go through to it, the yard-arms sticking in the very rocks. He do not, upon his best inquiry, find reason to except against any part of the management of the business by Teddiman; he having stayed treating no longer than during the night, while he was fitting himself to fight, bringing his ship abreast, and not a quarter of an hour longer, as is said; nor could more ships have been brought to play, as is thought. Nor could men be landed, there being 10,000 men effectively always in arms of the Danes; nor, says he, could we expect more from the Dane than he did, it being impossible to set fire on the ships but it must burn the town. But that wherein the Dane did amiss is, that he did assist them, the Dutch, all the time, while he was treating with us, when he should have been neutral to us both. But, however, he did demand but the treaty of us; which is, that we should not come with more than five ships. A flag of truce is said, and confessed by my Lord, that he believes it was hung out; but, while they did hang it out, they did shoot at us; so that it was not seen perhaps, or fit to cease upon sight of it, while they continued actually in action against us. But the main thing my Lord wonders at and condemns the Dane for is, that the blockhead, who is so much in debt to the Hollander, having now a treasure more by much than all his crown was worth, and that, which would for ever have beggared the Hollander, should not take this time to break with the Hollander, and thereby pay his debt, which must have been forgiven him, and have got the greatest treasure into his hands that ever was together in the world. By and by my Lord took me aside to discourse of his private matters, and was very free with me touching the ill condition of the fleet that it hath been

in, and the good fortune that he hath had, and nothing else, that these prizes are to be imputed to. He also talked with me about Mr. Coventry's dealing with him in sending Sir W. Pen away before him, which was not fair nor kind; but that he hath mastered and cajoled Sir W. Pen, that he hath been able to do nothing in the fleet, but been obedient to him; but withal tells me he is a man that is but of very mean parts, and a fellow not to be lived with, so false and base he is; which I know well enough to be very true, and did, as I had formerly done, give my Lord my knowledge of him. By and by was called a Council of War on board, when comes Sir W. Pen there, and Sir Christopher Mings, Sir Edward Spragg, Sir Joseph Jordan, Sir Thomas Teddman, and Sir Roger Cuttance. But by the discourse there of all but my Lord, methinks I saw how the government and management of the greatest business of the three nations is committed to very ordinary heads. Great spoil, I hear, there hath been of the two East India ships, and that yet they will come into the King very rich: so that I hope this journey will be worth £100 to me. So to our yacht again, having seen many of my friends there; and I, overcome with seasickness, shut my eyes and fell asleep continued till we came into Chatham river. Among others, I hear that W. Howe will grow very rich by this last business, and grows very proud and insolent by it; but it is what I ever expected. I hear by everybody how much my poor Lord of Sandwich was concerned for me during my silence awhile, lest I had been dead of the plague in this sickly time. At Chatham, at Commissioner Pett's, we did eat and drink very well, and about ten at night, it being moonshine and very cold, we set out, his coach carrying us, and so all night travelled to Greenwich, we sometimes sleeping and then talking and laughing by the way, and with much pleasure, but that it was very horrible cold, that I was afraid of an ague. A pretty passage was that the coach stood of a sudden, and the coachman came down; and the horses stirring, he called 'Hold!' which waked me. And the coachman at the boot<sup>1</sup> to do something or other and calling 'Hold!' I did wake of a sudden, and not knowing who he was, nor thinking of the coachman between sleeping and waking, I did take up the heart to take him by the shoulder, thinking verily he had been a thief. But when I waked I found my cowardly heart to

<sup>1</sup> The 'boots' were two projections from the sides of the carriage, open to the air, and in which the occupants were carried sideways. See *Notes and Queries*, second series, vol. viii, p. 238.



discover a fear within me, and that I should never have done it if I had been awake.

19th. About four or five of the clock we came to Greenwich, and Cocke and I went to his house, and there to our great trouble (we being sleepy and cold) we met with the ill news that his boy Jack was gone to bed sick, complaining of his head most, which is a bad sign it seems. So they presently betook themselves to consult whether and how to remove him. However, I thought it not fit for me to discover too much fear to go away; nor had I any place to go to. So to bed I went and slept till ten of the clock, and then comes Captain Cocke to wake me and tell me that his boy was well again. With great joy I heard the news, so I up and to the office. To Sir J. Minnes, where I find my Lady Batten come, and she and my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and the whole houseful there at cards. But by and by my Lord Brouncker goes away, and others of the company; and when I expected Sir J. Minnes and his sister should have stayed to make Sir W. Batten and Lady sup, I find they go up in snuff to bed, without taking any manner of leave of them, but left them with Mr. Boreman. The reason of this I could not presently learn, but anon I hear that it is that Sir J. Minnes did expect and intend them a supper, but they without respect to him did first apply themselves to Boreman, which makes all this great feud. However, I stayed and there supped, all of us being in great disorder from this.

20th. Up, and, after being trimmed, the first time I have been touched by a barber these twelve months, I think, and more, to Sir J. Minnes, where I found all out of order still, till by and by Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten met, to go into my Lord Brouncker's coach, and so we four to Lambeth, and thence to the Duke of Albemarle, to inform him what we have done as to the fleet, which is very little, and to receive his direction. But, Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the river; and grass grows all up and down White Hall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets! And, which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the number of the plague this week, brought in the last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8297, and of them the plague 7165; which is more in the whole, by above 50, than the biggest Bill yet: which is very grievous to us all. After dinner I to the office, there to write letters to fit myself

for a journey tomorrow to Nonsuch to the Exchequer. That being done, I to Sir J. Minnes, where I find Sir W. Batten and his lady gone home to Walthamstow in great snuff as to Sir J. Minnes, but yet with some necessity, hearing that a maid-servant of theirs is taken ill.

21st. Up between five and six o'clock; and, by the time I was ready, my Lord's coach comes for me; and, taking Will Itewer with me, who is all in mourning for his father, who is lately dead of the plague, as my boy Tom's is also, I set out, and took about £100 with me to pay the fees there, and so I rode in some fear of robbing. When I came thither I find only Mr. Ward, who led me to Burgess's bedside, and Spicer's, who, watching of the house, as it is their turns every night, did lie long in bed today, and I find nothing at all done in my business, which vexed me. But, not seeing how to help it, I did walk up and down with Mr. Ward to see the house: and by and by Spicer came to me and Mr. Falconbridge, and he and I to a town near by, Ewell. Walked up and down the house and park; and a fine place it hath heretofore been, and a fine prospect about the house. A great walk of an elm and a walnut set one after another in order. And all the house on the outside filled with figures of stories, and good painting of Rubens's or Holbein's doing. And one great thing is, that most of the house is covered—I mean, the post and quarters in the walls covered—with lead, and gilded. I walked into the ruined garden, and there found a plain little girl, a kinswoman of Mr. Falconbridge, to sing very finely by the ear only, but a fine way of singing; and if I come ever to lack a girl again I shall think of getting her. Thence to the town, and there Spicer and W. Sawyer and I dined together, and a friend of Spicer's, and a good dinner I had for them. Strange to see how young W. Bowyer looks at 41 years: one would not take him for 24 or more, and is one of the greatest wonders I ever did see. I got to my Lord Brouncker's before night, and there I sat and supped with him and his mistress and Cocke, whose boy is yet ill. Thence, after losing a crown betting at tables, we walked home, Cocke seeing me to my new lodging. All my work this day in the coach, going and coming, was to refresh myself in my music scale, which I would fain have perfecter than ever I had yet.

22d. To Blackwall, there to look after the storehouses in order to the laying of goods out of the East India ships when they shall be unladen. That being done, we into Johnson's house, and were much made of, eating and drinking. Here it is observable what he

discover a fear within me, and that I should never have done it if I had been awake.

19th. About four or five of the clock we came to Greenwich, and Cocke and I went to his house, and there to our great trouble (we being sleepy and cold) we met with the ill news that his boy Jack was gone to bed sick, complaining of his head most, which is a bad sign it seems. So they presently betook themselves to consult whether and how to remove him. However, I thought it not fit for me to discover too much fear to go away; nor had I any place to go to. So to bed I went and slept till ten of the clock, and then comes Captain Cocke to wake me and tell me that his boy was well again. With great joy I heard the news, so I up and to the office. To Sir J. Minnes, where I find my Lady Batten come, and she and my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and the whole houseful there at cards. But by and by my Lord Brouncker goes away, and others of the company; and when I expected Sir J. Minnes and his sister should have stayed to make Sir W. Batten and Lady sup, I find they go up in snuff to bed, without taking any manner of leave of them, but left them with Mr. Boreman. The reason of this I could not presently learn, but anon I hear that it is that Sir J. Minnes did expect and intend them a supper, but they without respect to him did first apply themselves to Boreman, which makes all this great feud. However, I stayed and there supped, all of us being in great disorder from this.

20th. Up, and, after being trimmed, the first time I have been touched by a barber these twelve months, I think, and more, to Sir J. Minnes, where I found all out of order still, till by and by Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten met, to go into my Lord Brouncker's coach, and so we four to Lambeth, and thence to the Duke of Albemarle, to inform him what we have done as to the fleet, which is very little, and to receive his direction. But, Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the river; and grass grows all up and down White Hall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets! And, which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the number of the plague this week, brought in the last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8297, and of them the plague 7165; which is more in the whole, by above 50, than the biggest Bill yet: which is very grievous to us all. After dinner I to the office, there to write letters to fit myself

the Chief Justice. It seems the number of daughters in the family having been very great, and they too had, most of them, many children, and grand-children and great-grandchildren. This he tells as a most known and certain truth. After supper my Lord Brouncker took his leave, and I also did mine, taking Captain Herbert home to my lodging to lie with me, who did mightily seriously enquire after who was that in the black dress with my wife yesterday, and would not believe that it was my wife's maid Mercer, but it was she.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich, who did advise alone with me how far he might trust Captain Cocke in the business of the prize-goods,<sup>1</sup> my Lord telling me that he hath taken into his hands 2 or £3000 value of them: it being a good way, he says, to get money, and afterwards to get the King's allowance thereof, it being easier, he observes, to keep money when got of the King than to get it when it is too late. I advised him not to trust Cocke too far, and did therefore offer him ready money for a £1000 or two, which he listens to and do agree to, which is great joy to me, hoping thereby to get something. Thence to Lambeth, his Lordship and all our Office and Mr. Evelyn, to the Duke of Albemarle, where we sat down to consult of the disposing and supporting of the fleet with victuals and money, and for the sick men and prisoners; and I did propose the taking out some goods out of the prizes, to the value of £10,000, which was accorded to; but what inconveniences may arise from it I do not yet see, but fear there may be many. Here we dined, and I did hear my Lord Craven whisper, as he is mightily possessed with a good opinion of me, much to my advantage, which my good Lord did second, and anon my Lord Craven did speak publicly of me to the Duke, in the hearing of all the rest; and the Duke did say something of the like advantage to me—I believe not much to the satisfaction of my brethren; but I was mightily joyed at it. Thence took leave, leaving my Lord Sandwich to go visit the Bishop of Canterbury. With Captain Cocke set out in the yacht for the fleet about ten o'clock at night. So to sleep upon beds brought by Cocke on board, mighty handsome, and never slept better than upon this bed upon the floor in the cabin.

24th. (Lord's day.) Waked, and up, and drank; and then, being

<sup>1</sup> In the British Museum, Egerton MSS., 861, is an account showing the value of all prizes taken during the war with the Dutch; distinguishing the vessels, their goods, the ports at which they were condemned, and the parties to whose accounts the amounts were debited.

discover a fear within me, and that I should never have done it if I had been awake.

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poor fisher-boy, who told us he had not been in bed the whole seven years since he came to 'prentice, and hath two or three more years to serve. After eating something, we in our clothes to bed.

26th. To dinner with Mr. Wright, to his brother-in-law at Greenwich, one of the most silly, harmless, prating old men that ever I heard in my life.

27th. Up, and saw and admired my wife's picture of our Saviour, now finished, which is very pretty. By water to Greenwich, where to the King's Head, the great music house, the first time I was ever there. Much troubled to hear from Creed that he was told at Salisbury<sup>1</sup> that I am come to be a great swearer and drinker; but, Lord! to see how my late little drinking of wine is taken notice of by envious men, to my disadvantage. To Captain Cocke's, and he not yet come from town, to Mr. Evelyn, where much company; and thence in his coach with him to the Duke of Albemarle, by Lambeth, who was in a mighty pleasant humour. There the Duke tells us that the Dutch do stay abroad, and our fleet must go out again, or be ready to do so. Here we got several things ordered, as we desired, for the relief of the prisoners and sick and wounded men. Here I saw this week's Bill of Mortality, wherein, blessed be God! there is above 1800 decrease, being the first considerable decrease we have had. Back again the same way, and had most excellent discourse with Mr. Evelyn touching all manner of learning, wherein I find him a very fine gentleman, and particularly of painting, in which he tells me the beautiful Mrs. Middleton is rare, and his own wife do brave things. Captain Cocke brought one parcel of our goods by waggons, and I first resolved to have lodged them at our office; but the thoughts of its being the King's house altered our resolution, and so put them at his friend's, Mr. Glanville's, and there they are safe. Would the rest of them were so, too! In discourse, we come to mention my profit, and he offers me £500 clear, and I demand £600. We part tonight, and I lie there at Mr. Glanville's house, there being none there but a maid-servant and a young man, being in some pain, partly from not knowing what to do in this business, having a mind to be at a certainty in my profit, and partly through his having Jack sick still, and his blackamoor now also fallen sick. So he being gone, I to bed.

29th. Comes Lushmore on horseback, and I had my horse I

<sup>1</sup> To which place the court had retired on account of the plague.

discover a fear within me, and that I should never have done it if I had been awake.

19th. About four or five of the clock we came to Greenwich, and Cocke and I went to his house, and there to our great trouble (we being sleepy and cold) we met with the ill news that his boy Jack was gone to bed sick, complaining of his head most, which is a bad sign it seems. So they presently betook themselves to consult whether and how to remove him. However, I thought it not fit for me to discover too much fear to go away; nor had I any place to go to. So to bed I went and slept till ten of the clock, and then comes Captain Cocke to wake me and tell me that his boy was well again. With great joy I heard the news, so I up and to the office. To Sir J. Minnes, where I find my Lady Batten come, and she and my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and the whole houseful there at cards. But by and by my Lord Brouncker goes away, and others of the company; and when I expected Sir J. Minnes and his sister should have stayed to make Sir W. Batten and Lady sup, I find they go up in snuff to bed, without taking any manner of leave of them, but left them with Mr. Boreman. The reason of this I could not presently learn, but anon I hear that it is that Sir J. Minnes did expect and intend them a supper, but they without respect to him did first apply themselves to Boreman, which makes all this great feud. However, I stayed and there supped, all of us being in great disorder from this.

20th. Up, and, after being trimmed, the first time I have been touched by a barber these twelve months, I think, and more, to Sir J. Minnes, where I found all out of order still, till by and by Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten met, to go into my Lord Brouncker's coach, and so we four to Lambeth, and thence to the Duke of Albemarle, to inform him what we have done as to the fleet, which is very little, and to receive his direction. But, Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the river; and grass grows all up and down White Hall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets! And, which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the number of the plague this week, brought in the last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8297, and of them the plague 7165; which is more in the whole, by above 50, than the biggest Bill yet: which is very grievous to us all. After dinner I to the office, there to write letters to fit myself

into the dispute, did passionately go away, thinking to go on board again. But when I came to the stairs I considered the bezan would not go till the next ebb, and it was best to lie in a good bed and, it may be, get myself into a better humour by being with my wife. So I back again and to bed, resolved to solve up the business rather than stir in it, and so became pleasant to my wife, and to bed minding nothing of this difference. I do end this month with the greatest content, and may say that these last three months, for joy, health, and profit, have been much the greatest that ever I received all my life in any twelve months, having nothing upon me but the consideration of the sickliness of the season to mortify me.

October 1st. (Lord's day.) On board the bezan, and came to the fleet about two of the clock. My Lord received me mighty kindly; and, among other things, to my great joy, he did assure me that he had wrote to the King and Duke about these prize-goods, and told me that they did approve of what he had done, and that he would own what he had done, and would have me tell all the world so, and did, under his hand, give Cocke and me his certificate of our bargains, and giving us full power of disposal of what we have so bought. This do ease my mind of all my fear. He did discourse to us of the Dutch fleet being abroad, eighty-five of them still. After supper Captain Cocke and I and Temple on board the bezan, and there to cards for a while, and so to sleep. But, Lord! the mirth which it caused to me, to be waked in the night by their snoring round about me: I did laugh till I was ready to burst, and waked one of the two companions of Temple, who could not a good while tell where he was, that he heard one laugh so, till he recollected himself, and I told him what it was at, and so to sleep again, they still snoring.

2d. Having sailed all night (and I do wonder how they in the dark could find the way), we got by morning to Gillingham, and thence all walked to Chatham; and there, with Commissioner Pett, viewed the Yard; and, among other things, a team of four horses came close by us, he being with me, drawing a piece of timber that I am confident one man could easily have carried upon his back. I made the horses be taken away, and a man or two to take the timber away with their hands. To Rochester, walked to the Crown, and while dinner was getting ready I did there walk to visit the old Castle ruins, which hath been a noble place; and there going up I did upon the stairs overtake three pretty maids and took them up



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10th. Up, and receive a stop from the Duke of Albemarle of setting out any more ships, or providing a pleasure-boat for himself, which I am glad of, and do think what I thought yesterday, that this resolution of his was a sudden one and silly. By and by comes Captain Cooke's Jacob to tell me that he is come from Chatham this morning, and that there are four waggons of goods at hand coming to town, which troubles me. I directed him to bring them to his master's house; but before I could send him away to bring them thither, news is brought me that they are seized on in the town by one Captain Fisher and they will carry them to another place. So I to them, and found our four waggons in the street stopped by the church by this Fisher and company, and 100 or 200 people in the streets gazing. I did give them good words, and made modest desires of carrying the goods to Captain Cocke's, but they would have them to a house of their hiring, where in a barn the goods were laid. I had *Transires* to show for all, and the tale was right, and there I spent all the morning seeing this done. So that being done, I left the goods to be watched by men on their part and ours; and so to the Duke of Albemarle to acquaint him with something of what had been done this morning in behalf of a friend absent; which did give me a good entrance and prevented their possessing the Duke with anything evil of me by their report, and by and by in comes Captain Cocke and tells his whole story. So an order was made for the putting him in possession upon giving security to be accountable for the goods, giving Locke that drew the order a piece. Lord! to see how unhappily a man may fall into a necessity of bribing people to do him right in a thing wherein he has done nothing but fair and bought dear. This night comes Cocke: he tells me that Sir G. Ascue says that he did, from the beginning, declare against these goods, and would not receive his dividend; and that he and Sir W. Pen are at odds about it, and that he fears Mings hath been doing ill offices to my Lord. I did tonight give my Lord an account of all this.

11th. Comes up my landlady, Mrs. Clerke, to make an agreement for the time to come; and I, for the having room enough, and to keep out strangers, and to have a place to retreat to for my wife, if the sickness should come to Woolwich, am to pay dear: so, for three rooms and a dining-room, and for linen, and bread and beer and butter at nights and mornings I am to give her £5 10s. per month. To Erith, and there we met Mr. Seymour, one of the Commissioners for Prizes, and a Parliament-man, and he was mighty high, and had now seized our goods on their behalf; and he mighty imperiously would have all forfeited. But I could not but think it odd that a Parliament-man, in a serious discourse before such persons as we and my Lord Brouncker and Sir John Minnes, should quote 'Hudibras,' as being the book I doubt he hath read most. To Woolwich, where we had appointed to keep the night merrily; and so, by Captain Cocke's coach, had brought a very pretty child, a daughter of one Mrs. Tooker's, next door to my lodging: and so she, and a daughter and kinsman of Mrs. Pett's, made up a fine company at my lodgings at Woolwich, where my wife and Mercer and Mrs. Barbara<sup>1</sup> danced, and mighty merry we were, but especially at Mercer's dancing a jig, which she does the best I ever did see, having the most natural way of it, and keeps time the most perfectly I ever did see. This night is kept in lieu of yesterday, for my wedding-day<sup>2</sup> of ten years, for which God be praised! being now in an extreme good condition of health and estate and honour, and a way of getting more money, though at this hour under some discomposure, rather than damage, about some prize-goods that I have bought off the fleet, in partnership with Captain Cocke; and for the discourse about the world concerning my Lord Sandwich, that he hath done a thing so bad; and indeed it must needs have been a very rash act; and the rather because of a Parliament now newly met to give money, and will have some account of what hath already been spent, besides the precedent for a General to take what prizes he pleases, and the giving a pretence to take away much more than he intended, and all will lie upon him; and not giving to all the Commanders, as well as the Flags, he displeases all them, and offends even some of the Flags, thinking others to be better served than themselves; and lastly, puts himself out of a power of begging anything again a great while of the King.

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of his Woolwich landlord.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the register of Pepys's marriage does not accord with this statement, or with that in the *Diary*, 10th October 1664.

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to compose a duo of counterpoint; and I think it will do very well, it being by Mr. Berkenshaw's rule. Comes Mr. Povy's coach, and, more than I expected, him himself, to fetch me to Brentford: so he and I immediately to set out, having drunk a draught of mulled sack; and so rode most nobly, in his most pretty and best-contrived chariot in the world, with many new conveniences, his never having till now, within a day or two, been yet finished. Anon we come to his house, and so, with fresh horses, his noble, fine horses, the best confessedly in England, the King having none such, he sent me to Sir Robert Viner's,<sup>1</sup> whom I met coming just from church; and he and I into his garden to discourse of money, but none is to be had. The Parliament, it seems, have voted the King £1,250,000 at £50,000 per month tax for the war; and voted to assist the King against the Dutch, and all that shall adhere to them; and thanks to be given him for his care of the Duke of York, which last is a very popular vote on the Duke's behalf. The taxes of the last assessment, which should have been in good part gathered, are not yet laid, and that even in part of the City of London; and the Chimney-money comes almost to nothing, nor anything else looked after. Back to Mr. Povy's, and after supper to talk and to sing, his man Dutton's wife singing very pleasantly (a mighty fat woman), and I wrote out one song from her and pricked the tune, both very pretty. But I did never hear one sing with so much pleasure to herself as this lady do, relishing it to her very heart, which was mighty pleasant.

16th. Up about seven o'clock; and after drinking, and I observing Mr. Povy's being mightily mortified in his eating and drinking, and coaches and horses (he desiring to sell his best), his furniture of his house, and everything else, he walked with me to Syon, and there I took water, in our way he discoursing of the wantonness of the Court, and how it minds nothing else. Upon the Exchange, which is very empty, God knows! and but mean people there. The news for certain that the Dutch are come with their fleet before Margate, and some men were endeavouring to come on shore when the post came away—perhaps to steal some sheep. I walked to the Tower; but, Lord! how empty the streets are, and melancholy, so many poor, sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me that, in Westminster, there is

<sup>1</sup> At Swakeley.

never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead; but that there are great hopes of a great decrease this week: God send it! At the Tower found my Lord Duke [of Albemarle] and Duchess at dinner: so I sat down, and much good cheer, the Lieutenant and his lady and several officers with the Duke. But, Lord! to hear the silly talk was there would make one mad, the Duke having none almost but fools about him. Much of their talk about the Dutch coming on shore, and spoke all in reproach of them, in whose hands the fleet is. But, Lord help him! there is something will hinder him and all the world in going to sea, which is want of victuals; for we have not wherewith to answer our service. And how much better it would have been if the Duke's advice had been taken, for the fleet to have gone presently out; but, God help the King! while no better counsels are given, and what is given no better taken. After dinner down to Greenwich, having received letters from my Lord Sandwich today, speaking very high about the prize-goods, that he would have us to fear nobody, but be very confident in what we have done, and not to confess any fault or doubt of what he hath done; for the King hath allowed it, and do now confirm it, and do send orders, as he says, for nothing to be disturbed that his Lordship hath ordered therein as to the division of the goods to the fleet; which do comfort us. To the Steelyard, which place, however, is now shut up of the plague; but I was there, and we now make no bones of it. Much talk there is of the Chancellor's speech and the King's at the Parliament's meeting, which are very well liked; and that we shall certainly, by their speeches, fall out with France at this time, together with the Dutch, which will find us work.

18th. Making of my accounts up of Tangier, which I did with great difficulty, and after eating something, to bed, my mind eased of a great deal of figures and castings.

19th. Come to an agreement yesterday with my landlady for £6 per month, for so many rooms for myself, them,<sup>1</sup> and my wife and maid, when she shall come, and to pay, besides, for my diet. To the Duke of Albemarle's this evening; and, among other things, spoke to him for my wife's brother Balty to be of his guard, which he kindly answered that he should. My business of the victualling goes on as I would have it; and now my head is full how to make some profit of it to myself or people. To that end, when I came home, I wrote a letter to Mr. Coventry, offering myself to be the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hayter and W. Hewer.



Surveyor-General, and am apt to think he will assist me in it, but I do not set my heart much on it, though it would be a good help.

20th. Up, and had my last night's letters brought back to me, which troubles me, because of my accounts, lest they should be asked for before they come, which I abhor, being more ready to give than they can be to demand them: so I sent away an express to Oxford with them, and another to Portsmouth, with a copy of my letter to Mr. Coventry.

22d. (Lord's day.) To church, in my way was meeting some letters, which made me resolve to go after church to my Lord Duke of Albemarle's. So, after dinner, I took Cocke's chariot, and to Lambeth; but, in going and getting over the water and through White Hall, I spent so much time, the Duke had almost dined. However, fresh meat was brought for me to his table, and there I dined, and full of discourse and very kind. Here they are again talking of the prizes, and my Lord Duke did speak very broad that my Lord Sandwich and Pen should do what they would, and answer for themselves. For his part, he would lay all before the King.

23d. On board the East India ship, where my Lord Brouncker had provided a great dinner. But I am troubled with the much talk and conceitedness of Mrs. Williams, in case she be not married to my Lord. Captain Taylor with me to the office, and there he and I reckoned; and I perceive I shall get £100 profit by my services of late to him, which is a very good thing.

24th. My Lord Sandwich is come to town; so I presently to Boreman's, where he is, and there found him. He mighty kind to me, but no opportunity of discourse private yet, which he tells me he must have with me: only his business is sudden to go to the fleet to get out a few ships to drive away the Dutch. To him again, to Captain Cocke's, where he supped and lies, and never saw him more merry; and here is Charles Harbord, who the King hath lately knighted. My Lord, to my great content, did tell me before them, that never anything was read to the King and Council, all the chief Ministers of State being there, as my letter about the victualling was, and no more said upon it than a most thorough consent to every word was said.

25th. My Lord tells me that Mr. Coventry and he are not reconciled, but declared enemies—the only occasion of it being, he tells me, his ill usage from him about the first fight, wherein he

had no right done him; which, methinks, is a poor occasion, for, in my conscience, that was no design of Coventry's. He tells me, as very private, that there are great factions at the Court between the King's party and the Duke of York's, and that the King, which is a strange difficulty, do favour my Lord in opposition to the Duke's party; that Coventry hath aggravated this business of the prizes, though never so great plundering in the world as while the Duke and he were at sea; and in Sir John Lawson's time he could take and pillage, and then sink a whole ship in the Straits, and Coventry say nothing to it; that the Chancellor did, as everybody else, speak well of me the other day, but yet was, at the Committee for Tangier, angry that I should offer to suffer a bill of exchange to be protested.

26th. Sir Christopher Mings and I together by water to the Tower; and I find him a very witty, well-spoken fellow, and mighty free to tell his parentage, being a shoemaker's son. I to the 'Change, where I hear how the French have taken two, and sunk one, of our merchantmen in the Straits, and carried the ships to Toulon; so that there is no expectation but we must fall out with them. The 'Change pretty full, and the town begins to be lively again, though the streets very empty and most shops shut.

27th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, and there much company, but I stayed and dined, and he makes mighty much of me; and here he tells us the Dutch are gone, and have lost above 160 cables and anchors, through the last foul weather. He proposed to me from Mr. Coventry that I should be Surveyor-General of the victualling business, which I accepted. But, indeed, the terms in which Mr. Coventry proposes it for me are the most obliging that ever I could expect from any man, and more; it saying me to be the fittest man in England; and that he is sure, if I will undertake, I will perform it; and that it will be also a very desirable thing that I might have this encouragement, my encouragement in the Navy alone being in no wise proportionable to my pains or deserts. This, added to the letter I had three days since, from Mr. Southerne,<sup>1</sup> signifying that the Duke of York had, in his master's absence, opened my letters, and commanded him to tell me that he did approve of my being the Surveyor-General, do make me joyful beyond myself that I cannot express it, to see that as I do take pains, so God blesses me, and hath sent me masters that do observe that I take pains.

<sup>1</sup> Secretary to Sir W. Coventry.

28th. Sir W. Clerke tells me the Parliament hath given the Duke of York £120,000, to be paid him after £1,250,000 is gathered upon the tax which they have now given the King. He tells me that the Dutch have lately launched sixteen new ships; all which is great news. The King and Court, they say, have now finally resolved to spend nothing upon clothes, but what is of the growth of England; which, if observed, will be very pleasing to the people, and very good for them.

29th. (Lord's day.) In the street did overtake and almost run upon two women crying and carrying a man's coffin between them; I suppose the husband of one of them, which, methinks, is a sad thing. Being come to Sheldon's, I found my people in the dark in the dining-room, merry and laughing and, I thought, sporting with one another, which, God help me! raised my jealousy presently. I came in the dark, and one of them touching me (which afterwards I found was Sue) made them shriek, and so went out upstairs, leaving them light a candle and to run out. I went out and was very vexed till I found my wife was gone with Mr. Hill and Mercer this day to see me at Greenwich; and these people were at supper, and the candle on a sudden falling out of the candlestick (which I saw as I came through the yard), and Mrs. Barbara being there, I was well at ease again. To Greenwich with a lanthorn, and 3 or 4 people with me, where I found Mr. Hill with my wife, and very glad I was to see him. To supper and discourse of music, and so to bed, I lying with him talking till midnight about Berkenshaw's music rules, and so to sleep.

30th. Hill and I to the office awhile, and he to get Mr. Coleman, if he can, against night. Home, and there find him returned with Mr. Coleman and Mr. Lanier, with whom and their lute we had excellent company and good singing till midnight. Coleman's voice is quite spoiled, and when he begins to be drunk he is excellent company, but afterwards troublesome and impertinent.

31st. Captain Cocke's black dead of the plague. Meeting yesterday the Searchers, with their rods in their hands, coming from Captain Cocke's house, I did overhear them say that the fellow did not die of the plague. About nine at night I come home, and there find Mrs. Pierce come, and little Frank Tooker, and Mr. Hill, and other people, a great many dancing; and anon comes Mrs. Coleman and her husband and Lanier. The dancing ended, and to sing, which Mrs. Coleman do, and very finely; though her voice

is decayed as to strength, but mighty sweet though soft, and a pleasant, jolly woman, and in mighty good humour was tonight. Among other things, Lanier did, at the request of Mr. Hill, bring two or three of the finest prints for my wife to see that ever I did see in all my life. But for singing, among other things, we got Mrs. Coleman to sing part of the Opera, though she would not own that ever she did get any of it without book in order to the stage; but, above all, her counterfeiting of Captain Cooke's part, in his reproaching his man with cowardice—'Base slave,' etc.—she do it most excellently. Thus we end the month merrily; and the more for that, after some fears that the plague would have increased again this week, I hear for certain that there is above 400 less; the whole number of deaths being 1388, and of them of the plague 1031. Want of money in the Navy puts everything out of order. Men grow mutinous, and nobody here to mind the business of the Navy but myself. I in great hopes of my place of Surveyor-General of the Victualling, which will bring me £300 per annum.

November 1st. Lay very long in bed, discoursing with Mr. Hill of most things of a man's life, and how little merit do prevail in the world, but only favour; and that, for myself, chance without merit brought me in; and that diligence only keeps me so, and will, living as I do among so many lazy people, that the diligent man becomes necessary, that they cannot do anything without him. By water to Erith, and my Lord Brouncker with us, to Mrs. Williams's lodgings, and Sir W. Batten, Sir Edmund Pooley,<sup>1</sup> and others; and there, it being my Lord's birthday, had every one a green ribbon tied in our hats very foolishly; and, methinks, mighty disgracefully for my Lord to have his folly so open to all the world with this woman.

2nd. Sir W. Warren came to me to settle the business of the Tangier boats, wherein I shall get above £100, besides £100 which he gives me for the paying of them out of his own purse.

3rd. To the fleet, where I found my Lord on board the Royal James, and with my Lord an hour alone discoursing. So to dinner, where my Lord infinitely kind to me, and after dinner I rose and left him with some Commanders at the table taking tobacco; and I took the bezan back with me, taking great pleasure in learning the seaman's manner of singing when they sound the

<sup>1</sup> M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds, and in the list of proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for Suffolk.

depths; and then to supper and to sleep, which I did most excellently all night, it being a horrible foul night for wind and rain.

4th. I hear that one of the little boys at my lodging is not well; and they suspect, by their sending for plaster and fume, that it may be the plague; so I sent Mr. Hater and W. Hewer to speak with the mother; but they returned to me, satisfied that there is no hurt nor danger, but the boy is well, and offers to be searched. After dinner to the office, and much troubled to have 100 seamen all the afternoon there, swearing below, and cursing us, and breaking the glass windows, and swear they will pull the house down on Tuesday next. I sent word of this to Court, but nothing will help it but money and a rope.

5th. (Lord's day.) To the Cockpit, where I heard the Duke of Albemarle's chaplain make a simple sermon: among other things, reproaching the imperfection of human learning, he cried, 'All our physicians cannot tell what an ague is, and all our arithmetic is not able to number the days of a man'—which, God knows, is not the fault of arithmetic, but that our understandings reach not the thing. I hear that the plague increases much at Lambeth, St. Martin's, and Westminster, and fear it will all over the City. By water to Deptford, and there made a visit to Mr. Evelyn, who, among other things, showed me most excellent painting in little: in distemper, Indian ink, water colours, graving; and, above all the whole secret of mezzo-tinto,<sup>1</sup> and the manner of it, which is very pretty, and good things done with it. He read to me very much also of his discourse, he hath been many years and now is about, about Gardenage; which will be a most noble and pleasant piece. He read me part of a play or two of his making, very good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his 'Hortus Hyemalis'; leaves laid up in a book of several plants kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely, better than an Herbal. In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own, that were not transcendant, yet one or two very pretty epigrams; among others, of a lady looking in at a grate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there. Here comes in, in the middle of our discourse, Captain Cocke, as drunk as a dog, but could stand and talk and laugh.

<sup>1</sup> Not long before invented by Prince Rupert.

He did so joy himself in a brave woman that he had been with all the afternoon, and who should it be but my Lady Robinson; but very troublesome he is with his noise and talk and laughing, though very pleasant.

6th. Down with Captain Cocke to his house at Greenwich, and Sir G. Carteret and I did walk an hour in the garden before the house, talking of my Lord Sandwich's business: what enemies he hath, and how they have endeavoured to bespatter him; and particularly about his leaving of 30 ships of the enemy, when Pen would have gone, and my Lord called him back again, which is most false. However, he says it was purposed by some hotheads in the House of Commons, at the same time when they voted a present to the Duke of York, to have voted £10,000 to the Prince, and half-a-crown to my Lord of Sandwich; but nothing came of it. But, for all this, the King is most firm to my Lord, and so is my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Arlington. The Prince, in appearance kind; the Duke of York silent, says no hurt; but admits others to say it in his hearing. Sir W. Pen the falsest rascal that ever was in the world; and that this afternoon the Duke of Albemarle did tell him that Pen was a very cowardly rogue, and one that hath brought all these roguish fanatic Captains into the fleet, and swears he should never go out with the fleet again: that Sir W. Coventry is most kind to Pen still, and says nothing, nor do anything openly, to the prejudice of my Lord. He agrees with me, that it is impossible for the King to set out a fleet again the next year; and that he fears all will come to ruin, there being no money in prospect but these prizes, which will bring, it may be, £20,000, but that will signify nothing in the world for it.

7th. To Sir G. Carteret, and with him by water to the Duke of Albemarle's; but, among other things, Lord! to see how he wondered to see the river so empty of boats—nobody working at the Custom-house quays—and how fearful he is; and vexed that his man, holding a wine-glass in his hand for him to drink out of, did cover his hands, it being a cold, windy, rainy morning, under the waterman's coat, though he brought the waterman from six or seven miles up the river, too. Nay, he carried this glass with him for his man to let him drink out of at the Duke of Albemarle's, where he intended to dine, though this he did to prevent sluttishness; for the same reason, he carried a napkin with him to Captain Cocke's, making him believe that he should not eat with foul linen. Spent the evening till midnight talking

with Mrs. Penington, who is a very discreet, understanding lady; and very pretty discourse we had, and great variety, and she tells me with great sorrow her bitch is dead this morning—died in her bed.

8th. It being a fast-day, all people were at church, and the office quiet: so I did much business, and at noon adventured to my old lodging. By water to Deptford, and about eight o'clock at night did take water, being glad I was out of the town; for the plague, it seems, rages there more than ever.

9th. At noon, by water, to the King's Head at Deptford, where Captain Taylor invites Sir W. Batten and Sir John Robinson, who comes in with a great deal of company from hunting, and brought in a hare alive: and a great many silly stories they tell of their sport, which pleases them mightily, and me not at all, such is the different sense of pleasure in mankind. And strange to see how a good dinner and feasting reconciles everybody. Going home, W. Hewer did tell me my wife will be here tomorrow, and hath put away Mary, which vexes me to the heart, I cannot help it, though it be a folly in me; and when I think seriously on it, I think my wife means no ill design in it, or, if she do, I am a fool to be troubled at it, since I cannot help it. The Bill of Mortality, to all our griefs, is increased 399 this week, and the increase generally through the whole City and suburbs, which makes us all sad.

10th. Up, and entered all my journal since the 28th of October, having every day's passage well in my head, though it troubles me to remember it. In the evening news is brought me my wife is come: so I to her and with her spent the evening, but with no great pleasure, I being vexed about her putting away of Mary in my absence; but yet I took no notice of it at all, but fell into other discourse; and she told me, having herself been this day at my house at London, which was boldly done, that a neighbour of ours, Mr. Hollworthy, a very able man, is dead by a fall in the country from his horse—his foot hanging in the stirrup and his brains beat out.

12th. (Lord's day.) To the Duke of Albemarle, and there had a little discourse and business with him. They hope here the plague will be less this week. Thence back by water to Captain Cocke's, and then he and I spent a great deal of the evening, as we had done of the day, reading over part of Mr. Stillingfleet's '*Origines Sacrae*,' wherein many things are very good, and some frivolous.

13th. Captain Cocke and I at night sat talking with Mrs. Penington whom we found undressed in her smock and petticoats

by the fireside, and there we drank and laughed. I home after one of the clock.

14th. Captain Cocke and I in his coach through Kent Street, a sad place through the plague, people sitting sick and with plasters about them in the street begging. To the Duke of Albemarle's by water, late, where I find he had remembered that I had appointed to come to him this day about money, which I excused not doing sooner; but I see, a dull fellow as he is, he do sometimes remember what another thinks he minded not. My business was about getting money of the East India Company; but, Lord! to see how the Duke himself magnifies himself in what he had done with the Company; and my Lord Craven what the King could have done without my Lord Duke, and a deal of stir; but most mightily what a brave fellow I am. Back by water, it raining hard, and so to the office, and stopped my going, as I intended, to the buoy of the Nore: and great reason I had to rejoice at it, for it proved the night of as great a storm as was almost ever remembered. This day I hear that my pretty grocer's wife, Mrs. Beversham, over the way there, her husband is lately dead of the plague at Bow, which I am sorry for, for fear of losing her neighbourhood.

15th. To the King's Head tavern, where all the Trinity House dined today, to choose a new Master in the room of Hurlestone, that is dead, and Captain Crispe is chosen. But Lord! to see how Sir W. Batten governs all; but I am confident the Company will grow the worse, for now Batten (and in him a lazy, corrupt, doting rogue) will have all the sway there. After dinner who comes in but my Lady Batten, and a troop of a dozen women almost, and expected, as I found afterwards, to be made mighty much of, but nobody minded them. But the best jest was that, when they saw themselves not regarded, they would go away, and it was horrible foul weather; and my Lady Batten walking through the dirty lane with new spick and span white shoes, she dropped one of her galoshes in the dirt, where it stuck, and she forced to go home without one, at which she was horribly vexed, and I led her. And, after vexing her a little more in mirth, I parted, and to Glanville's, where I knew Sir John Robinson, Sir G. Smith, and Captain Cocke were gone. And then, with the company of Mrs. Penington (whose father,<sup>1</sup> I hear, was one of the Court of Justice, and died prisoner,

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Pennington, an alderman of London, convicted as one of the king's judges. His sentence was probably changed to imprisonment: *ob.* 17th December 1661.



of the stone, in the Tower), I made them, against their resolutions, to stay from hour to hour, till it was almost midnight, and a furious, dark and rainy and windy, stormy night: and, which was best, I, with drinking small beer, made them all drunk drinking wine, at which Sir John Robinson made great sport. But, they being gone, the lady and I very civilly sat an hour by the fireside, showing the folly of this Robinson, that makes it his work to praise himself, and all he says and do, like a heavy-headed coxcomb. The plague, blessed be God! is decreased 400, making the whole this week about 1300 and odd: for which the Lord be praised!

16th. To Erith, where, after making a little visit to Madam Williams, who did give me information of W. Howe's having bought eight bags of precious stones taken from about the Dutch Vice-Admiral's neck, of which there were eight diamonds, which cost him £4,000 sterling in India, and hoped to have made £12,000 here for them. And that this is told by one that sold him one of the bags, which hath nothing but rubies in it, which he had for 35*s.*; and that it will be proved he hath made £125 of one stone that he bought. This she desired, and I resolved, I would give my Lord Sandwich notice of. So I on board my Lord Brouncker; and there he and Sir Edmund Pooley carried me down into the hold of the India ship, and there did show me the greatest wealth lie in confusion that a man can see in the world. Pepper scattered through every chink, you trod upon it; and in cloves and nutmegs I walked above the knees: whole rooms full. And silk in bales, and boxes of copper-plate, one of which I saw opened. Having seen this, which was as noble a sight as ever I saw in my life, I away on board the other ship in despair to get the pleasure-boat of the gentlemen there to carry me to the fleet. They were Mr. Ashburnham<sup>1</sup> and Colonel Wyndham;<sup>2</sup> but, pleading the King's business, they did presently agree I should have it. So I presently on board, and got under sail, and had a good bed by the shift, of Wyndham's.

17th. Sailed all night, and got down to Quinborough water, where all the great ships are now come; and there on board my Lord, and was soon received with great content. And after some

<sup>1</sup> John Ashburnham, a Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I, whom he attended during the whole of the rebellion, afterwards filled the same post under Charles II. He was in 1661 M.P. for Sussex: *ob.* 1671.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Francis Wyndham, a distinguished loyalist, Governor of Dunster Castle, Somersetshire. He was created a baronet 18th November 1673.

little discourse, he and I on board Sir W. Pen; and there held a Council of War about many wants of the fleet; and so followed my Lord Sandwich, who was gone a little before me on board the Royal James. And there spent an hour, my Lord playing upon the guitar, which he now commends above all music in the world. That being done, I got my Lord to be alone, and so I fell to acquaint him with W. Howe's business: he resolves nothing less than to lay him by the heels and seize on all he hath, saying that for this year or two he has observed him so proud and conceited he could not endure him. Then we fell to public discourse. As an infinite secret, my Lord tells me the factions are high between the King and the Duke; and all the Court are in an uproar with their loose amours, the Duke of York being in love desperately with Mrs. Stuart. Nay, that the Duchess herself is fallen in love with her new Master of the Horse, one Harry Sidney,<sup>1</sup> and another, Harry Savile.<sup>2</sup> So that God knows what will be the end of it. And that the Duke is not so obsequious as he used to be, but very high of late; and would be glad to be in the head of an army as General; and that it is said that he do propose to go and command under the King of Spain, in Flanders. That his amours to Mrs. Stuart are told the King; so that all is like to be naught among them. Away to my bezan again, and there to read in a pretty French book, '*La Nouvelle Allégorique*,' upon the strife between rhetoric and its enemies—very pleasant. So, after supper, to sleep, and sailed all night, and came to Erith before break of day.

18th. About nine of the clock, I went on shore and hired an ill-favoured horse, and away to Greenwich, to my lodgings, where I hear how rude the soldiers have been in my absence, swearing what they would do with me.

19th. (Lord's day.) Alone by water to Erith. Being come there, on board my Lord Brouncker, I find Captain Cocke and other company, the lady not well, and mighty merry we were—Sir Edmund Pooley being very merry, and a right English gentleman, and one of the discontented cavaliers, that think their loyalty is not considered. After dinner, all on shore to my Lady Williams, and there drank and talked; but, Lord! the most impertinent bold

<sup>1</sup> Younger son of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, created Earl of Romney, 1694. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Master of the Ordnance, and Warden of the Cinque Ports in the reign of King William: *ob.* 1704, unmarried.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Savile, sometime one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York.

woman with my Lord that ever I did see. To Woolwich, where we found my wife not well, and I out of humour began to dislike her painting, the last things not pleasing me so well as the former: but I blame myself for being so little complaisant.

20th. Up before day, and so took horse for Nonsuch, with two men with me, and the ways very bad, and the weather worse, for wind and rain. But we got in good time thither, and I did get my tallies got ready, and thence to Ewell and there saw my Bess, a very well favoured country lass. And after being very merry and spent a picce, I took horse; but it rained hard and blew, but got home very well. Here I find Mr Dering come to trouble me about business, which I soon dispatched, he telling me that Luellin hath been dead this fortnight, of the plague, in St. Martin's Lane, which much surprised me.

21st. Sent a long discourse to Mr. Coventry by his desire about the regulating of the method of our payment of bills in the Navy, which will be very good, though, it may be, he did aim principally at striking at Sir G. Carteret.

22d. I was very glad to hear that the plague is come very low; that is, the whole under 1000, and the plague 600 and odd: and great hopes of a further decrease, because of this day's being a very exceeding hard frost, and continues freezing. This day the first of the Oxford Gazettes come out, which is very pretty, full of news, and no folly in it, wrote by Williamson.<sup>1</sup> It pleased me to have it demonstrated that a purser without professed cheating is a professed loser, twice as much as he gets.

23d. Up betimes, and so, being trimmed, I to get papers ready against Sir H. Cholmley came to me by appointment, he being newly come over from Tangier. He did by and by come, and we settled all matters about his money, and he is a most satisfied man in me, and do declare his resolution to give me £200 per annum. It continuing to be a great frost, which gives us hopes for a perfect cure of the plague, he and I to walk in the Park, and there discoursed with grief of the calamity of the times. I brought him, and had a good dinner for him, and there came by chance Captain Cuttance, who tells me how W. Howe is laid by the heels and confined to the Royal Katharine, and his things all seized: and how, also, for a quarrel, which indeed the other night my Lord told me, Captain Ferrers having cut all over the back of another

<sup>1</sup> No. XXIV of the *Oxford Gazette* was the first *London Gazette*. The Williamson who 'wrote' it was afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson.

of my Lord's servants, is parted from my Lord. At my lodging, writing for the last twelve days my journal, and so to bed. We in extraordinary lack of money and everything else to go to sea next year. My Lord Sandwich is gone from the fleet yesterday towards Oxford.

24th. To London, and there, in my way, at my old oyster shop in Gracious Street, bought two barrels of my fine woman of the shop, who is alive after all the plague, which now is the first observation or inquiry we make at London concerning everybody we knew before it. To the 'Change, where very busy with several people, and mightily glad to see the 'Change so full, and hopes of another abatement still the next week. I went home with Sir G. Smith to dinner, sending for one of my barrels of oysters, which were good, though come from Colchester, where the plague hath been so much. Here a very brave dinner, though no invitation; and, Lord! to see how I am treated, that come from so mean a beginning, is matter of wonder to me. But it is God's mercy to me, and His blessing upon my taking pains and being punctual in my dealings. Visited Mr. Evelyn, where most excellent discourse with him; among other things, he showed me a ledger<sup>1</sup> of a Treasurer of the Navy, his great-grandfather, just 100 years old; which I seemed mighty fond of, and he did present me with it, which I take as a great rarity; and he hopes to find me more, older than it. He also showed us several letters of the old Lord of Leicester's,<sup>2</sup> in Queen Elizabeth's time, under the very handwriting of Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Mary, Queen of Scots; and others, very venerable names. But, Lord! how poorly, methinks, they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper.

26th. (Lord's day.) Up before day to dress myself to go toward Erith, which I would do by land, it being a horrible cold frost to go by water: so borrowed two horses of Mr. Howell and his friend, and with much ado set out, after my horses being frosted,<sup>3</sup> which I know not what it means to this day, and my boy having lost one of my spurs and stockings, carrying them to the smith's. And I borrowed a stocking, and so got up, and Mr. Tooker with me, and rode to Erith, and there, on board my Lord Brouncker, met

<sup>1</sup> This ledger is now in the British Museum, amongst some of Pepys's papers, in the Duckett Collection.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst these documents, still in the Pepysian library—for Evelyn complains that he lent them to Pepys, who omitted to return them—are some letters relating to the death of Amy Robsart, Lady Robert Dudley.

<sup>3</sup> Roughed, or roughshod.

with Sir W. Warren upon his business, among others, and did a great deal, Sir J. Minnes, as God would have it, not being there to hinder us with his impertinences. To my wife at Woolwich, where I found, as I had directed, a good dinner to be made against tomorrow, and invited guests in the yard, meaning to be merry, in order to her taking leave, for she intends to come in a day or two to me for altogether. But here, they tell me, one of the houses behind them is infected, and I was fain to stand there a great while, to have their back-doors opened, but they could not, having locked them fast, against any passing through, so was forced to pass by them again, close to their sick-beds, which they were removing out of the house, which troubled me: so I made them uninvite their guests, and to resolve of coming all away to me tomorrow.

27th. Walked with my landlady's little boy Christopher to Lambeth, it being a very fine walk, and calling at Half-the-way and drank; and so to the Duke of Albemarle, who is visited by everybody against his going; and mighty kind to me; and upon my desiring His Grace to give me his kind word to the Duke of York, if any occasion there were of speaking of me, he told me he had reason to do so, for there had been nothing done in the Navy without me. He is agog to go to sea himself the next year. To dinner, he most exceeding kind to me, to the observation of all that are there. With Sir G. Carteret, who tells me that my Lord hath received still worse and worse usage from some base people about the Court. But the King is very kind, and the Duke do not appear the contrary; and my Lord Chancellor swore to him, 'By — I will not forsake my Lord of Sandwich.' I into London, it being dark night, by a hackney coach, the first I have durst to go in many a day, and with great pain now, for fear. But it being unsafe to go by water in the dark, and frosty cold, and unable, being weary with my morning walk, to go on foot, this was my only way. Few people yet in the streets, nor shops open, here and there twenty in a place almost; though not above five or six o'clock at night. The Goldsmiths do decry the new Act, for money to be all brought into the Exchequer and paid out thence, saying they will not advance one farthing upon it; and indeed it is their interest to say and do so. To Sir G. Smith's, it being now night, and there up to his chamber, and sat talking, and I barbing<sup>1</sup> against tomorrow; and anon, at nine at night, comes to us Sir G.

<sup>1</sup> An old word for shaving.

Smith and the Lieutenant of the Tower, and there they sat talking and drinking till past midnight: and mighty merry we were, the Lieutenant of the Tower being in a mighty vein of singing, and he hath a very good ear and strong voice, but no manner of skill. Sir G. Smith showed me his lady's closer, which was very fine; and after being very merry, here I lay in a noble chamber, and mighty highly treated, the first night I have lain in London a long time.

28th. Up before day, and Cocke and I took a hackney coach appointed with four horses to take us up, and so carried us over London Bridge. But there, thinking of some business, I did 'light at the foot of the bridge, and by help of a candle at a stall, where some pavers were at work, I wrote a letter to Mr. Hater, and never knew so great an instance of the usefulness of carrying pen and ink and wax about one: so we, the way being very bad, to Nonsuch,<sup>1</sup> and thence to Sir Robert Long's house, a fine place, and dinner-time ere we got thither; but we had breakfasted a little at Mr. Gauden's, he being out of town though, and there borrowed Dr. Taylor's sermons, and is a most excellent book, and worth my buying; where had a very good dinner, and curiously dressed, and here a couple of ladies, kinswomen of his, not handsome though, but rich, that knew me by report of The. Turner, and mighty merry we were. After dinner to talk of our business, and we parted. Captain Cocke and I through Wandsworth. Drank at Sir Allen Broderick's,<sup>2</sup> a great friend and comrade of Cocke's, whom he values above the world for a witty companion, and I believe he is so. So to Fox-hall, and there took boat, and down to the old Swan, and thence to Lombard Street, it being dark night, and thence to the Tower. Took boat, and down to Greenwich. Cocke home, and I to the office, and then to my lodgings, where my wife is come, and I am well pleased with it; only much trouble in those lodgings we have, the mistress of the house being so deadly dear in everything we have, so that we do resolve to remove home soon as we know how the plague goes this week, which we hope will be a good decrease. So to bed.

<sup>1</sup> Nonsuch, afterwards called Worcester Park, county Surrey. Sir Robert Long was Auditor of the Exchequer, which office was removed from Westminster to His Majesty's honour of Nonsuch, 15th August 1665. On the 22nd September 1670, the king demised the Great Park, Great Park Meadow, and the mansion house called Worcester Park, to Sir Robert Long, Bart., for ninety-nine years (Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, vol. ii, p. 606).

<sup>2</sup> Son of Sir Thomas Broderick, of Richmond, Yorkshire, and Wandsworth, Surrey, knighted by Charles II, and surveyor-general in Ireland to that king.

29th. My wife and I resolved upon sending our two maids, Alice and Susan, home. So my wife after dinner did take them to London with some goods, and I in the afternoon after doing other business did go also by agreement to meet Captain Cocke, and from him to Sir Roger Cuttance about the money due from Cocke to him for the late prize goods. Cocke do tell me that several have begged so much of the King to be discovered out of stolen prize goods, and so I am afeard we shall hereafter have trouble: therefore I will get myself free of them as soon as I can and my money paid. Home to my house, calling my wife, where the poor wretch is putting things in a way to be ready for our coming home, and so by water together to Greenwich.

30th. At noon comes Sir Thomas Allen, and I made him dine with me: and very friendly he is, and a good man, I think, but one that professes he loves to get and to save. Great joy we have this week in the weekly Bill, it being come to 544 in all, and but 333 of the plague; so that we are encouraged to get to London soon as we can. And my father writes as great news of joy to them, that he saw York's waggon go again this week to London, and full of passengers; and tells me that my aunt Bell hath been dead of the plague these seven weeks.

December 1st. All the day long shut up in my little closet at my office, drawing up instructions for my Surveyor of the Ports. Then home by promise to my wife, to have mirth there. So we had our neighbours, little Miss Tooker and Mrs. Daniels, to dance; and after supper I to bed, and left them merry below, which they did not part from till two or three in the morning.

2d. Dined with my wife at noon, and took leave of her, she being to go to London for altogether, and I to the office, busy till past one in the morning.

3d. (Lord's day.) It being Lord's day, up and dressed, and to church, thinking to have sat with Sir James Bunce<sup>1</sup> to hear his daughter<sup>2</sup> and her husband sing, that are so much commended, but was prevented by being invited into Colonel Cleggatt's pew. However, there I sat, near Mr. Lanier, with whom I spoke, and my fat brown beauty of our parish, the rich merchant's lady, a very noble woman, and Madame Pierce. A good sermon of Mr. Plume's, and so to Captain Cocke's, and there dined with him and Colonel Wyndham, a worthy gentleman, whose

<sup>1</sup> James Bunce, an alderman of London, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Chamberlain.

Smith and the Lieutenant of the Tower, and there they sat talking and drinking till past midnight: and mighty merry we were, the Lieutenant of the Tower being in a mighty vein of singing, and he hath a very good ear and strong voice, but no manner of skill. Sir G. Smith showed me his lady's closer, which was very fine; and after being very merry, here I lay in a noble chamber, and mighty highly treated, the first night I have lain in London a long time.

28th. Up before day, and Cocke and I took a hackney coach appointed with four horses to take us up, and so carried us over London Bridge. But there, thinking of some business, I did 'light at the foot of the bridge, and by help of a candle at a stall, where some pavers were at work, I wrote a letter to Mr. Hater, and never knew so great an instance of the usefulness of carrying pen and ink and wax about one: so we, the way being very bad, to Nonsuch,<sup>1</sup> and thence to Sir Robert Long's house, a fine place, and dinner-time ere we got thither; but we had breakfasted a little at Mr. Gauden's, he being out of town though, and there borrowed Dr. Taylor's sermons, and is a most excellent book, and worth my buying; where had a very good dinner, and curiously dressed, and here a couple of ladies, kinswomen of his, not handsome though, but rich, that knew me by report of The. Turner, and mighty merry we were. After dinner to talk of our business, and we parted. Captain Cocke and I through Wandsworth. Drank at Sir Allen Broderick's,<sup>2</sup> a great friend and comrade of Cocke's, whom he values above the world for a witty companion, and I believe he is so. So to Fox-hall, and there took boat, and down to the old Swan, and thence to Lombard Street, it being dark night, and thence to the Tower. Took boat, and down to Greenwich. Cocke home, and I to the office, and then to my lodgings, where my wife is come, and I am well pleased with it; only much trouble in those lodgings we have, the mistress of the house being so deadly dear in everything we have, so that we do resolve to remove home soon as we know how the plague goes this week, which we hope will be a good decrease. So to bed.

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to the settling the business of my receiving money for Tangier. We went and stopped the officer there to shut up. He made us stay above an hour. I sent for him, he comes and brings a paper: saying that he had been this hour looking for the Lord Ashley's order. When he looks for it, that is not the paper. He would go again to look: kept us waiting till almost eight at night. I sent for him again: at last he comes, and says he cannot find the paper (which is a pretty thing to lay an order for £100,000 no better). I was angry: he told me I ought to give people ease at night, and all business was to be done by day. I answered him sharply, that I did not make, nor any honest man, any difference between night and day in the King's business, and this was such, and my Lord Ashley should know. He answered me short. I told him I knew the time (meaning the Rump's time) when he did other men's business with more diligence. He cried, 'Nay, say not so,' and stopped his mouth, not one word after. We then did our business without the order in less than eight minutes, which he made me to no purpose stay above two hours for the doing. This made him mad, and so we exchanged notes, and I had notes for £14,000 of the Treasurer of the Company, and so away.

6th. Up betimes, it being fast-day, and by water to the Duke of Albemarle, who came to town from Oxford last night. He is mighty brisk, and very kind to me, and asks my advice principally in everything. He surprises me with the news that my Lord Sandwich goes Ambassador to Spain speedily; though I know not whence this arises, yet I am heartily glad of it. I spent the afternoon upon a song of Solyman's words to Roxalana<sup>1</sup> that I have set, and so with my wife walked, and Mercer, to Mrs. Pierce's, where Captain Rolt and Mrs. Knipp, Mr. Coleman and his wife, and Lanier, Mrs. Worshipp<sup>2</sup> and her singing daughter, met; and by and by, unexpectedly, comes Mr. Pierce from Oxford. Here the best company for music I ever was in in my life, and wish I could live and die in it, both for music and the face of Mrs. Pierce, and my wife, and Knipp, who is pretty enough, but the most excellent, mad-humoured thing, and sings the noblest that ever I heard in my life, and Rolt, with her, some things together, most excellently. I spent the night in ecstasy almost; and, having invited them to my house a day or two hence, we broke up, Pierce having told me that

<sup>1</sup> 'Beauty, retire!' from *The Siege of Rhodes*, Act iv, sc. 2. The setting here mentioned is in the Pepysian Library.

<sup>2</sup> Sister of Mrs. Clerke, wife of Dr. Clerke.

he is told how the King hath done my Lord Sandwich all the right imaginable, by showing him his countenance before all the world on every occasion, to remove thoughts of discontent; and he is to go Ambassador, and the Duke of York is made General of all forces by land and sea, and the Duke of Albemarle Lieutenant-General.

7th. After dinner spent till night with Mr. Gibson and Hater discoursing and making myself more fully know the trade of pursers, and what fittest to be done in their business. After supper with my wife about one o'clock to bed.

8th. To the Navy Office to give order to my maid to buy things to send down to Greenwich for supper tonight; and I also to buy other things, as oysters, and lemons, 6*d.* per piece, and oranges, 3*d.* To White Hall, where we found Sir G. Carteret with the Duke, and also Sir G. Downing, whom I had not seen in many years before. He greeted me very kindly, and I him; though methinks I am touched that it should be said that he was my master heretofore, as doubtless he will. Sir G. Carteret tells me that he is glad of my Lord's being made Ambassador, and that it is the greatest courtesy his enemies could do him; yet I find he is not heartily merry upon it, and that it is no design of my Lord's friends, but the prevalence of his enemies: and that the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert are like to go to sea together the next year. I pray God, when my Lord is gone, they do not fall hard upon the Vice-Chamberlain, being alone and in so envious a place. By water down to Greenwich, and there found all my company come—that is, Mrs. Knipp, and an ill, melancholy, jealous-looking fellow, her husband, that spoke not a word to us all the night, Pierce and his wife, and Rolt, Mrs. Worshipp and her daughter, Coleman and his wife, and Lanier, and, to make us perfectly happy, there comes by chance to town Mr. Hill to see us. Most excellent music we had in abundance, and a good supper, dancing, and a pleasant scene of Mrs. Knipp's rising sick from table, but whispered me it was for some hard word or other her husband gave her just now when she laughed and was more merry than ordinary. But we got her in humour again and mighty merry, spending the night, till two in the morning, with most complete content as ever in my life. And we to bed, Mr. Hill and I, whom I love more and more, and he us.

9th. Called up by my Lord Brouncker to go with him to the Duke of Albemarle. Here my Lord and I dined. At table, the

to the settling the business of my receiving money for Tangier. We went and stopped the officer there to shut up. He made us stay above an hour. I sent for him, he comes and brings a paper: saying that he had been this hour looking for the Lord Ashley's order. When he looks for it, that is not the paper. He would go again to look: kept us waiting till almost eight at night. I sent for him again: at last he comes, and says he cannot find the paper (which is a pretty thing to lay an order for £100,000 no better). I was angry: he told me I ought to give people ease at night, and all business was to be done by day. I answered him sharply, that I did not make, nor any honest man, any difference between night and day in the King's business, and this was such, and my Lord Ashley should know. He answered me short. I told him I knew the time (meaning the Rump's time) when he did other men's business with more diligence. He cried, 'Nay, say not so,' and stopped his mouth, not one word after. We then did our business without the order in less than eight minutes, which he made me to no purpose stay above two hours for the doing. This made him mad, and so we exchanged notes, and I had notes for £14,000 of the Treasurer of the Company, and so away.

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To Mr. Pierce's, where he and his wife made me drink some tea. Away to the 'Change, and there hear the ill news, to my great and all our great trouble, that the plague is increased again this week, notwithstanding there hath been a long day or two great frosts; but we hope it is only the effects of the last close, warm weather, and, if the frost continue the next week, may fall again. But the town do thicken so much with people, that it is much if the plague do not grow again upon us. My great trouble is that my poor little parish is the greatest number this week in all the City within the walls, having six, from one the last week; and so by water to Greenwich. Invited by Sheriff Hooker,<sup>1</sup> who keeps the poorest, mean, dirty table in a dirty house that ever I did see any Sheriff of London; and a plain, ordinary, silly man I think he is, but rich—only his son, Mr. Lethicullier, I like, for a pretty, civil, understanding merchant; and the more by much, because he happens to be husband to our noble, fat, brave lady in our parish, that I and my wife admire so.<sup>2</sup>

15th. Met with Sir James Bunce, and after asking what news, he cried, 'Ah!' says he, 'This is the time for you,' says he, 'that were for Oliver heretofore; you are full of employment, and we, poor Cavaliers, sit still and can get nothing'; which was a pretty reproach, I thought; but answered nothing to it for fear of making it worse.

16th. A fearful cold, snowing day. News is come today of our Sound fleet being come.

17th. (Lord's day.) Word brought me that Cutler's coach is, by appointment, come to the Isle of Dogs for me, and so I over the water; and in his coach to Hackney, a very fine, cold, clear, frosty day. At his house, I find him with a plain little dinner, good wine, and welcome. He is still a prating man, and the more I know him, the less I find in him. A pretty house he hath here indeed, of his own building. His old mother was an object at dinner that made me not like it; and after dinner, to visit his sick wife I did not also take much joy in. ■■■

18th. To the 'Change, and walked down as low as Duck Lane, and enquired for some Spanish books. Home by water to Greenwich, the river beginning to be very full of ice, so as I was a little frightened, but got home well, it being dark. W. Howe has been examined on shipboard by my Lord Brouncker today, and others,

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir William Hooker.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lethicullier's lady was Anne, daughter of Sir William Hooker.

and he has charged him out of envy with sending goods under my Lord's seal and in my Lord Brouncker's name, thereby to get them safe passage.

19th. With my Lord Brouncker on board the bezan to examine W. Howe again, who I find upon this trial one of much more wit and ingenuity than I ever expected. But, Lord! to see how he writes to me a-days and styles me 'My Honour.' So much is a man subjected and dejected under afflictions as to flatter me in that manner on this occasion.

20th. Took Sir Ellis Layton to Captain Cocke's, where my Lord Brouncker and Lady Williams dine, and we all mighty merry; but Sir Ellis Layton one of the best companions at a meal in the world. After dinner I to the Exchange to see whether my pretty seamstress be come again or no, and I find she is, saluted her over her counter in the open Exchange above, and mightily joyed to see her, poor pretty woman. Home to Greenwich, and thence I to Mrs. Penington, and had a supper from the King's Head for her, and there mighty merry and free as I used to be with her; and at last, late, I did pray her to undress herself into her night-gown, that I might see how to have her picture drawn carelessly (for she is mighty proud of that conceit), and I would walk without in the street till she had done. So I did walk forth, and whether I made too many turns or no in the dark, cold, frosty night between the two walls up to the Park gate I know not, but she was gone to bed when I came again to the house upon pretence of having some papers there, which I did on purpose by her consent. Home, and was there sat up for to be spoken with my young Mrs. Daniel, to pray me to speak for her husband to be a lieutenant. I had the opportunity here of kissing her again and again, and did answer that I would be very willing to do him any kindness. And so parted, and I to bed, exceedingly pleased on all my matters of money.

21st. At noon all of us dined at Captain Cocke's at a good chine of beef and other good meat; but, being all frost-bitten, was most of it unroast: but very merry, and a good dish of fowl we dressed ourselves. Mr. Evelyn there, in very good humour. Coming home and going to bed, the boy tells me his sister Daniel has provided me a supper of little birds killed by her husband, and I made her sup with me, and after supper were alone a great while, and I had the pleasure of her lips, she being a pretty woman. She gone, I to bed. This day I was come to by Mrs. Burrows of

Westminster, Lieutenant Burrows (lately dead) his wife, a most pretty woman and my old acquaintance; I had a kiss or two of her, and a most modest woman she is.

22d. I to my Lord Brouncker's, and there spent the evening by my desire in seeing his Lordship open to pieces and make up again his watch, thereby being taught what I never knew before; and it is a thing very well worth my having seen, and am mightily pleased and satisfied with it. Somewhat vexed at a snappish answer Madam Williams did give me to herself, upon my speaking a free word to her in mirth, calling her a mad jade. She answered, we were not so well acquainted yet. But I was more at a letter from my Lord Duke of Albemarle today, pressing us to continue our meetings for all Christmas, which, though everybody intended not to have done, yet I am concluded in it, who intended nothing else. The weather hath been frosty these eight or nine days, and so we hope for an abatement of the plague the next week, or else God have mercy upon us! for the plague will certainly continue the next year, if it do not.

23d. This day one came to me with four great turkeys, as a present from Mr. Deane, at Harwich, three of which my wife carried in the evening home with her to London in her coach.

24th. (Sunday.) To dinner, my landlady and her daughters with me, and had mince-pies, and very merry at a mischance her young son had, in the tearing of his new coat quite down the outside of his sleeve in the whole cloth, one of the strangest mishaps that ever I saw in my life. Then to church, and placed myself in the parson's pew under the pulpit, to hear Mrs. Chamberlain in the next pew sing, who is daughter to Sir James Bunce,<sup>1</sup> of whom I have heard much, and indeed she sings very finely. Home to look over and settle my papers, both of my accounts private and those of Tangier, which I have let go so long that it were impossible for any soul, had I died, to understand them. I hope God will never suffer me to come to that disorder again.

25th. (Christmas day.) To church in the morning, and there saw a wedding in the church, which I have not seen many a day; and the young people so merry one with another! and strange to see what delight we married people have to see these poor fools decoyed into our condition, every man and woman gazing and smiling at them.

26th. To the office, where Sir J. Minnes and my Lord Brouncker

<sup>1</sup> He had married Mary, daughter of Thomas Gipps, or Gibbs, of London.

and I met, to give our directions to the Commanders of all the ships in the river to bring in lists of their ships' companies; where young Seymour, among 20 that stood bare, stood with his hat on—a proud, saucy young man. Thence with them to Mr. Cuttle's, being invited, and dined nobly and neatly; with a very pretty house and a fine turret at top, with winding stairs, and the finest prospect I know about all Greenwich, save the top of the hill. Here I also saw some fine writing-work of Mr. Hoare, he one that I knew long ago, an acquaintance of Mr. Thomson's, at Westminster, that is this man's clerk. It is the story of the several Archbishops of Canterbury, engrossed in vellum, to hang up in Canterbury Cathedral in tables, in lieu of the old ones, which are almost worn out.

27th. Home to my wife, and angry about her desiring a maid yet, before the plague is quite over. It seems Mercer is troubled that she hath not one under her, but I will not venture my family by increasing it, before it is safe.

29th. All day long within doors upon my accounts, public and private, and find the ill effect of letting them go so long without evening. But, however, my regularity in all I did and spent do help me.

30th. All the afternoon to my accounts; and there find myself, to my great joy, a great deal worth, above £4000, for which the Lord be praised! and is principally occasioned by my getting £500 of Cocke for my profit in his bargains of prize goods, and from Mr. Gauden's making me a present of £500 more when I paid him £8000 for Tangier.

31st. (Lord's day.) Thus ends this year, to my great joy, in this manner. I have raised my estate from £1300 in this year to £4400. I have got myself greater interest, I think, by my diligence, and my employments increased by that of Treasurer for Tangier, and Surveyor of the Victuals. It is true we have gone through great melancholy because of the great plague; and I put to great charges by it, by keeping my family long at Woolwich, and myself and another part of my family, my clerks, at my charge, at Greenwich, and a maid at London; but I hope the King will give us some satisfaction for that. But now the plague is abated almost to nothing, and I intending to get to London as fast as I can. The Dutch war goes on very ill, by reason of lack of money; having none to hope for, all being put into disorder by a new Act that is made as an experiment to bring credit to the Exchequer, for goods

and money to be advanced upon the credit of that Act. I have never lived so merrily as I have done this plague-time. The great evil of this year, and the only one indeed, is the fall of my Lord Sandwich, whose mistake about the prizes hath undone him, I believe, as to interest at Court, though sent, for a little palliating it, Ambassador into Spain, which he is now fitting himself for. But the Duke of Albemarle goes with the Prince to sea this next year, and my Lord is very meanly spoken of; and, indeed, his miscarriage about the prize-goods is not to be excused, to suffer a company of rogues to go away with ten times as much as himself, and the blame of all to be deservedly laid upon him. My whole family hath been well all this while, and all my friends I know of, saving my aunt Bell, who is dead, and some children of my cousin Sarah's, of the plague. But many of such as I know very well, dead; yet, to our great joy, the town fills apace, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the plague's decrease for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to public matters, they at this distance not thinking of it.

## 1666

JANUARY 1ST. Called up by five o'clock by my order, by Mr. Tooker, who wrote, while I dictated to him, my business of the pursers; and so, without eating or drinking, till three in the afternoon, to my great content, finished it.<sup>1</sup> So to dinner and then to copying it over till interrupted by Sir W. Warren's coming, of whom I always learn something or other, his discourse being very good and his brains also.

2d. Up by candle-light again, and wrote the greatest part of my business fair; and so to dinner, and made an end of my fair writing; and to my Lord Brouncker's, and there find Sir J. Minnes and all

<sup>1</sup> This document is in the British Museum (Harleian MSS., 6287), and is entitled: 'A letter from Mr. Pepys, dated at Greenwich, 1st Jan., 1665-6, which he calls his New Year's Gift to his hon. friend, Sir Wm. Coventry, wherein he lays down a Method of securing his Majesty in husbandly execution of the Victualling Part of the Naval Expence.' It consists of nineteen closely written folio pages, and is a remarkable specimen of Pepys's business habits.



his company, and Mr. Boreman and Mrs. Turner, but, above all, my dear Mrs. Knipp, with whom I sang, and in perfect pleasure I was to hear her sing, and especially her little Scotch song of 'Barbary Allen.' And to make our mirth the completer, Sir J. Minnes was in the highest pitch of mirth, and his mimical tricks, that ever I saw, and most excellent pleasant company he is, and the best mimic that ever I saw, and certainly would have made an excellent actor, and now would be an excellent teacher of actors. Then, it being past night, against my will, took leave. But before I came to my office, longing for more of her company, I returned and met them coming home in coaches, so I got into the coach where Mrs. Knipp was and (the coach being full) upon my knees, and sung, and at last set her at her house, and so good-night.

3d. I to the Duke of Albemarle and back again: and, at the Duke's, with great joy, I received the good news of the decrease of the plague this week to 70, and but 253 in all; which is the least Bill hath been known these twenty years in the City, though the want of people in London is it, that must make it so low, below the ordinary number for Bills. So home, and find all my good company I had bespoke, as Coleman and his wife, and Lanier, Knipp, and her surly husband; and good music we had, and, among other things, Mr. Coleman sang my words I set, of 'Beauty, retire,' and I think it is a good song, and they praise it mightily. Then to dancing and supper, and mighty merry till Mr. Rolt came in, whose pain of the toothache made him no company, and spoilt ours: so he away, and then my wife's teeth fell of aching, and she to bed. So forced to break up all with a good song, and so to bed.

4th. To my Lord Brouncker, thinking to have been merry, having appointed a meeting for Sir J. Minnes and his company and Mrs. Knipp again; but whatever hindered I know not, but no company came, which vexed me because it disappointed me of the glut of mirth I hoped for. However, good discourse with my Lord. So home and to bed.

5th. I with my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams by coach with four horses to London, to my Lord's house in Covent Garden. But, Lord! what staring to see a nobleman's coach come to town! And porters everywhere bow to us; and such begging of beggars! And a delightful thing it is to see the town full of people again; and shops begin to open, though in many places seven or eight together, and more, all shut; but yet the town is full, compared with what it used to be. I mean the City end: for

Covent Garden and Westminster are yet very empty of people, no Court nor gentry being there. Home, thinking to get Mrs. Knipp, but could not, she being busy with company, but sent me a pleasant letter, writing herself 'Barbary Allen.' I went, therefore, to Mr. Boreman's for pastime, and there stayed an hour or two talking with him and reading a discourse about the river of Thames, the reason of its being choked up in several places with shelves: which, is plain, is by the encroachments made upon the River, and running out of causeways into the River, at every wood-wharf: which was not heretofore, when Westminster Hall and White Hall were built, and Redriffe Church, which now are sometimes overflowed with water. So home, and by and by comes little Miss Tooker and sat and supped with me, and I kept her very late talking and making her comb my head.

6th. To my Lord Brouncker, to Greenwich by water, to a great dinner and much company. Mr. Cuttle and his lady and others and I went, hoping to get Mrs. Knipp to us (having wrote a letter to her in the morning, calling myself 'Dapper Dicky,'<sup>1</sup> in answer to hers of 'Barbary Allen'), but could not, and am told by the boy that carried my letter that he found her crying; and I fear she lives a sad life with that ill-natured fellow her husband: so we had a great, but I a melancholy, dinner. After dinner to cards, and then comes notice that my wife is come unexpectedly to me to town: so I to her. It is only to see what I do, and why I come not home; and she is in the right that I would have a little more of Mrs. Knipp's company before I go away. My wife to fetch away my things from Woolwich, and I back to cards, and after cards to choose King and Queen, and a good cake there was, but no marks found; but I privately found the clove, the mark of the knave, and privately put it into Captain Cocke's piece, which made some mirth, because of his lately being known by his buying of clove and mace of the East India prizes. At night home to my lodging, where I find my wife returned with my things. It being Twelfth Night, they had got the fiddler, and mighty merry they were; and I above, came not to them, leaving them dancing and choosing King and Queen.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up, and being trimmed, I was invited by Captain Cocke. So I left my wife, having a mind to some discourse with him. He tells me of new difficulties about his goods,

<sup>1</sup> A song called *Dapper Dick* is in the British Museum; it begins 'In a barren tree.' It was printed in 1710.

which troubles me, and I fear they will be great. He tells me, too, how the town talks of my Lord Craven being to come into Sir G. Carteret's place; but sure it cannot be true. But I do fear those two families, his and my Lord Sandwich's, are quite broken; and I must now stand upon my own legs. With my wife and Mercer took boat and away home; but in the evening, before I went, comes Mrs. Knipp, just to speak with me privately, to excuse her not coming to me yesterday, complaining how like a devil her husband treats her, but will be with us in town a week hence. And so I kissed her and parted. After supper, with great joy in my heart for coming once again hither, to bed.

8th. To Bennett's, in Paternoster Row, few shops there being yet open, and there bought velvet for a coat, and camelott for a cloak for myself; and thence to a place to look over some fine counterfeit damasks to hang my wife's closet, and pitched upon one.

9th. To the office, where we met first since the plague, which God preserve us in! In comes Pierce, lately come from Oxford. He tells me how a great difference hath been between the Duke and Duchess, he suspecting her to be naught with Mr. Sidney. But some way or other the matter is made up; but he [Sidney] was banished the Court, and the Duke for many days did not speak to the Duchess at all. He tells me that my Lord Sandwich is lost there at Court, though the King is particularly his friend. But people do speak everywhere slightly of him; which is a sad story to me, but I hope it may be better again. And that Sir G. Carteret is neglected, and hath great enemies at work against him. That matters must needs go bad, while all the town, and every boy in the street, openly cries, 'The King cannot go away till my Lady Castlemaine be ready to come along with him'; she being lately put to bed.<sup>1</sup> And that he visits her and Mrs. Stuart every morning before he eats his breakfast. My wife mighty full of her work she has today in furnishing her bedchamber.

10th. I do find Sir G. Downing to be a mighty talker, more than is true, which I now know to be so, and suspected it before. To my Lord Brouncker's house in Covent Garden. Thence to the 'Change, and there hear to our grief how the plague is increased this week from seventy to eighty-nine. We have also great fear of our Hamburg fleet, of their meeting the Dutch; as also have

<sup>1</sup> 28th December 1665. In a fellow's chamber, in Merton College, Oxford of George Fitzroy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland.

certain news that by storms Sir Jer. Smith's <sup>1</sup> fleet is scattered, and three of them come without masts back to Plymouth. Thence home, in my way had the opportunity I longed for, of seeing and saluting Mrs. Stokes, my little goldsmith's wife in Paternoster Row, and there bespoke a silver chafing-dish for warming plates. To the Duke of Albemarle by coach at night. Here I saw Sir W. Coventry's kind letter to him concerning my paper, and among others of his letters, which I saw all, and that is a strange thing, that whatever is writ to this Duke of Albemarle, all the world may see; for this very night he did give me Mr. Coventry's letter to read soon as it came to his hand, before he had read it himself, and bid me take out of it what concerned the Navy, and many things there was in it, which I should not have thought fit for him to have let anybody so suddenly see; but, among other things, find him profess himself to the Duke a friend into the enquiring further into the business of prizes, and advises that it may be public, for the righting the King and satisfying the people—the blame to be rightly laid where it should be, which strikes very hard upon my Lord Sandwich, and troubles me to read it. Besides, which vexes me more, I heard the damned Duchess again say to twenty gentlemen publicly in the room, that she would have Montagu sent once more to sea before he goes his embassy, that we may see whether he will make amends for his cowardice, and repeated the answer she did give the other day in my hearing to Sir G. Downing. But one good thing she said, she cried mightily out against the having of gentlemen Captains with feathers and ribbons, and wished the King would send her husband to sea with the old plain sea Captains that he served with formerly, that would make their ships swim with blood, though they could not make legs as Captains nowadays can.

11th. At noon to dinner, all of us, by invitation, to Sir W. Pen's, and much other company. Among others, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Broome, his poet, and Dr. Whistler and his [Sir William Pen's] son-in-law Lowther,<sup>2</sup> servant to Mrs. Margaret Pen, and Sir Edward Spragg, a merry man, that sang a pleasant song pleasantly.

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Sir Jeremy Smith commanded a fleet in the Straits at this time, and another in the Channel, in 1668.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Lowther, of Marske, in Yorkshire, who shortly afterwards married Margaret Penn, was M.P. for Appleby in 1678 and 1679. He was buried at Walthamstow in 1692.

12th. Called at Wotton's, my shoemaker, lately come to town, and bespoke shoes, as also got him to find me a tailor to make me some clothes, my own being not yet in town. So he helped me to a pretty man, one Mr. Penny, against St. Dunstan's Church. Thence to the 'Change, and there met Mr. Moore, and took him home to dinner with me, and after dinner to talk; and he and I do conclude my Lord's case to be very bad and may be worse, if he do not get a pardon for his doings about the prizes and his business at Bergen, and other things done by him at sea, before he goes for Spain. To the office, and then had an extraordinary meeting to hear my paper read about pursers. So we broke up, and I and my Lord Brouncker by coach a little way, for discourse sake, till our coach broke, and tumbled me over him quite down the side of the coach, falling on the ground about the stocks, but up again. To my poor wife, who works all day at home like a horse, at the making of her hangings for our chamber and the bed.

13th. Home with his Lordship to Mrs. Williams's, in Covent Garden, to dinner, the first time I ever was there, and there met Captain Cocke; and pretty merry, though not perfectly so, because of the fear that there is of a great increase again of the plague this week. And again my Lord Brouncker do tell us that he hath it from Sir John Baber,<sup>1</sup> who is related to my Lord Craven, that my Lord Craven do look after Sir G. Carteret's place, and do reckon himself sure of it. My head full of cares, but pleased with my wife's minding her work so well and busying herself about her house.

14th. (Lord's day.) Long in bed, till raised by my new tailor, Mr. Penny, who comes and brings me my new velvet coat, very handsome, but plain. At noon eat the second of the two cygnets Mr. Shepley sent us for a new year's gift. This afternoon, after sermon, comes my dear fair beauty of the Exchange, Mrs. Batelier, brought by her sister, an acquaintance of Mercer's, to see my wife. I saluted her with as much pleasure as I had done any a great while. We sat and talked together an hour, with infinite pleasure to me, and so the fair creature went away, and proves one of the modestest women, and pretty, that ever I saw in my life, and my wife judges her so, too.

15th. To Mrs. Pierce, to her new house in Covent Garden, a very fine place and fine house. Took her thence home to my house, and so by water to Boreman's by night, where the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Physician in Ordinary to the king, who had knighted him in 1661.

disappointment that ever I saw in my life—much company, a good supper provided, and all come with expectation of excess of mirth, but all blank through the waywardness of Mrs. Knipp, who, though she had appointed the night, could not be got to come. Not so much as her husband could get her to come; but, which was a pleasant thing in my anger, I asking him, while we were in expectation what answer one of our many messengers would bring, what he thought, whether she would come or no, he answered that, for his part, he could not so much as think. By and by we all to supper, which the silly master of the feast commended, but what with my being out of humour, and the badness of the meat dressed, I did never eat a worse supper in my life. At last, very late, and supper done, she came undressed, but it brought me no mirth at all; only, after all being done, without singing, or very little, and no dancing, Pierce and I to bed together, and he and I very merry to find how little and thin clothes they give us to cover us, so that we were fain to lie in our stockings and drawers, and lay all our coats and clothes upon the bed. So to sleep.

16th. Mightily troubled at the news of the plague's being increased, and was much the saddest news that the plague hath brought me from the beginning of it, because of the lateness of the year, and the fear we may with reason have of its continuing with us the next summer; the total being now 375, and the plague 158.

17th. After dinner, late, took horse, having sent for Lechmore to go with me; and so he and I rode to Dagenhams in the dark. It was my Lord Crewe's desire that I should come, and chiefly to discourse with me of my Lord Sandwich's matters, and therein to persuade, what I had done already, that my Lord should sue out a pardon for his business of the prizes, as also for Bergen, and all he hath done this year past, before he begins his embassy to Spain: for it is to be feared that the Parliament will fly out against him and particular men the next session. He is glad also that my Lord is clear of his sea-employment, though sorry, as I am, only in the manner of its bringing about. After supper up to wait on my Lady Crewe, who is the same weak, silly lady as ever, asking such saintly questions. Down to my Lord again and sat talking an hour or two, and anon to prayers, the whole family, and then all to bed, I handsomely used, lying in the chamber Mr. Carteret formerly did, but sat up an hour talking sillily with Mr. Carteret and Mr. Marre, and so to bed.

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15th. To Mrs. Pierce, to her new house in Covent Garden, a very fine place and fine house. Took her thence home to my house, and so by water to Boreman's by night, where the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Physician in Ordinary to the king, who had knighted him in 1661.

defence of his and his fellow physicians going out of town in the plague-time; saying that their particular patients were most gone out of town, and they left at liberty; and a great deal more, etc. But what, among other fine discourse, pleased me most, was Sir G. Ent,<sup>1</sup> about respiration; that it is not to this day known, or concluded on among physicians, nor to be done either, how the action is managed by nature, or for what use it is.

23d. Good news beyond all expectation of the decrease of the plague, being now but 79, and the whole but 272. So home with comfort to bed. A most furious storm all night and morning.

24th. By agreement my Lord Brouncker called me up, and though it was a very foul, windy, and rainy morning, yet down to the waterside we went, but no boat could go. So we to the office. Thence my Lord and I, the weather being a little fairer, by water to Deptford, to Sir G. Carteret's house, where W. Howe met us, and there we opened the chests, and saw the poor sorry rubies which have caused all this ado to the undoing of W. Howe; though I am not much sorry for it, because of his pride and ill nature. About 200 of these very small stones, and a cod of musk, which it is strange I was not able to smell, is all we could find; so locked them up again, and my Lord and I, the wind being again very furious, so as we durst not go by water, walked to London quite round the bridge, no boat being able to stir; and, Lord! what a dirty walk we had, and so strong the wind, that in the fields we many times could not carry our bodies against it, but were driven backwards. We went through Horsleydown, where I never was since a little boy, that I went to enquire after my father, whom we did give over for lost coming from Holland. It was dangerous to walk the streets, the bricks and tiles falling from the houses, that the whole streets were covered with them; and whole chimneys, nay, whole houses, in two or three places, blowed down. But, above all, the pales of London Bridge, on both sides, were blown away, so that we were fain to stoop very low for fear of blowing off of the bridge. We could see no boats in the Thames afloat, but what were broke loose and carried through the bridge, it being ebbing water. And the greatest sight of all was, among other parcels of ships driven here and there in clusters together, one was quite overset, and lay with her masts all along in the water, and keel above water.

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Ent, F.R.S., president of the College of Physicians: *ob.* 1689.



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him, and where: he told me that it would be best to meet at his lodgings, without being seen to walk together, which I liked very well; and, Lord! to see in what difficulty I stand, that I dare not walk with Sir W. Coventry, for fear my Lord or Sir G. Carteret should see me; nor with either of them, for fear Sir W. Coventry should. I went down into one of the Courts, and there met the King and Duke; and the Duke called me to him. And the King came to me of himself, and told me, 'Mr. Pepys,' says he, 'I do give you thanks for your good service all this year, and I assure you I am very sensible of it.' And the Duke of York did tell me with pleasure that he had read over my discourse about pursers, and would have it ordered in my way, and so fell from one discourse to another. I walked with them quite out of the Court into the fields, and then back, and to my Lord Sandwich's chamber, where I find him very melancholy, and not well satisfied, I perceive, with my carriage to Sir G. Carteret, but I did satisfy him and made him confess to me that I have a very hard game to play; and he told me that he was sorry to see it, and the inconveniences which likely may fall upon me with him; but, for all that, I am not much afraid, if I can but keep out of harm's way in not being found too much concerned in my Lord's matters. He hath got over the business of the prizes, so far as to have a privy seal passed for all that was in his distribution to the officers, which I am heartily glad of; and, for the rest, he must be answerable for what he is proved to have. But for his pardon for anything else, he thinks it not seasonable to ask it, and not useful to him, because that will not stop a Parliament's mouth, and for the King, he is sure enough of him. Took boat, and by water to Kingston, and so to our lodgings where a good supper and merry; only I sleepy, and therefore after supper I slunk away from the rest to bed, and lay very well and slept soundly, my mind being in a great delirium between joy for what the King and Duke have said to me, and Sir W. Coventry, and trouble for my Lord Sandwich's concernments, and how hard it will be for me to preserve myself from falling hereof.

29th. Up, and to Court by coach, where to council before the Duke of York, the Duke of Albemarle with us. I was much joyed to find the Duke of York so much contending for my discourse about the pursers against Sir W. Pen, who opposes it like a fool. My Lord Sandwich came in, in the middle of the business, and, poor man, very melancholy, methought, and said little at all, or to the business, and sat at the lower end, just as he came, no

room being made for him, only I did give him my stool, and another was reached me. Mr. Evelyn and I into my Lord [Brouncker's] coach, and rode together with excellent discourse till we came to Clapham, talking of the vanity and vices of the Court, which makes it a most contemptible thing; and, indeed, in all his discourse, I find him a most worthy person. Particularly he entertained me with discourse of an infirmary, which he hath projected for the sick and wounded seamen against the next year, which I mightily approve of; and will endeavour to promote it, being a worthy thing and of use, and will save money. He set me down at Mr. Gauden's, where I took a book and into the gardens, and there walked and read till dark. Anon come in Creed, and after that Mr. Gauden and his sons, and then they bringing in three ladies, who were in the house, but I do not know them—his [Gauden's] daughter and two nieces, daughters of Dr. Whistler's, with whom and Creed mighty sport at supper, the ladies very pretty and mirthful. I perceive they know Creed's gut and stomach as well as I, and made as much mirth as I with it at supper. After supper I made the ladies sing, yet it was the saddest stuff I ever heard. However, we sat up late, and then I, in the best chamber, like a prince, to bed, and Creed with me, and, being sleepy, talked but little.

30th. Home, finding the town keeping the day solemnly, it being the day of the King's murder; and they being at church, I presently into the church, and a dull sermon of our young Lecturer, too bad. This is the first time I have been in this church since I left London for the plague, and it frightened me indeed to go through the church more than I thought it could have done, to see so many graves lie so high upon the church-yards, where people have been buried of the plague. I was much troubled at it, and do not think to go through it again a good while.<sup>1</sup> So home to my wife; and we to dinner, where she entertained me with what she has lately bought of clothes for herself, and damask linen, and other things for the house. I did give her a serious account how matters stand with me, of favour with the King and Duke, and of danger

<sup>1</sup> The following summary of the deaths from the plague, of 1665, in the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, was extracted from the register, by the Rev. C. Murray, and printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1845: in July 4; August, 22; September, 63; October, 54; November, 18; December, 5. Of these, there were buried in the churchyard, 98; in the new churchyard, 42; in vaults, 12; in the church, 7; in the chancel, 1. Buried, places of interment not specified, 166. Total, 326.

in reference to my Lord's and Sir G. Carteret's falls, and the dissatisfaction I have heard the Duke of Albemarle has acknowledged to somebody against my Lord Sandwich, that he did bring me into the Navy against his desire and endeavour for another, which was our doting fool Turner. Thence from one discourse to another, and looking over my house and other things, I spent the day at home, and at night betimes to bed.

31st. To the 'Change, and seeing my neighbour Mr. Knightly, I did invite him home with me, and he dined with me. He is mighty solicitous, as I find many about the City that live near the church-yards, to have the church-yards covered with lime, and I think it is needful, and ours, I hope, will be done. My Lord Sandwich's bond wherein I am bound with him to my cousin for £1000 is cancelled, to my extraordinary comfort. To my Lord Chancellor's new house which he is building, only to view it, hearing so much from Mr. Evelyn of it; and, indeed, it is the finest pile I ever did see in my life, and will be a glorious house. To White Hall, and, to my great joy, people begin to bustle up and down there, the King holding his resolution to be in town tomorrow, and hath good encouragement, blessed be God! to do so, the plague being decreased this week to 56, and the total to 227.

February 1st. To Alderman Backwell's to set all my reckoning straight there. So evened to this day, and thence to Sir Robert Viner where I did the like, leaving clear in his hands just £2000 of my own money to be called for when I pleased. So home and spent till one in the morning in my chamber to set right all my money matters, and so to bed.

2d. To London, and there, among other things, did look over some pictures at Cade's for my house, and did carry home a silver drudger<sup>1</sup> for my cupboard of plate, and did call for my silver chafing-dishes, but they are sent home and the man will not be paid for them, saying that he was paid for them already, and with much ado got him to tell me by Mr. Wayth; but I would not accept of that, but will send him his money, not knowing of any courtesy I have yet done him to deserve it. So home and, with my wife, looked over our plate, and picked out £40 worth, I believe, to change for more useful plate, to our great content, and then we shall have a very handsome cupboard of plate.

4th. Lord's day; and my wife and I the first time together at

<sup>1</sup> The drudger was probably the *drageoir* of France; in low Latin, *dragerium*, or *drageria*, in which comfits (*dragées*) were kept.

church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before anybody went, and now staying till all are come home; but he made but a very poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon. It was a frost, and had snowed last night, which covered the graves in the churchyard, so as I was the less afeard for going through. All the afternoon at my Journal till supper, it being a long while behindhand. At supper my wife tells me my aunt James is lately dead of the stone.

5th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to my Lord Brouncker's. My Lord invited me to dinner today to dine with Sir W. Batten and his Lady there; but lest he should think so little an invitation would serve my turn I refused and parted. To the 'Change, and there met Mr. Hill and with him the Houblons, and agreed that I must sup with them tonight. So visited my Lord Sandwich, and so to the Sun, behind the Exchange, about seven o'clock, where I find all the five brothers Houblons: and mighty fine gentlemen they are all, and used me mighty respectfully. We were mighty civilly merry, and their discourses, having been all abroad, very fine.

6th. To the office, where very busy all the morning. We met upon a report to the Duke of York of the debts of the Navy, which we finished by three o'clock; and, having eat one little bit of meat, I by water before the rest to White Hall because of a Committee for Tangier where I did my business of stating my accounts perfectly well and to good liking. After that to our Navy business, where my fellow officers were called in, and did that also very well, and then broke up and I home by coach. Stayed in Lombard Street and sent home for the plate which my wife and I had a mind to change, and there changed it, about £50 worth, into things more useful. So home to the office, wrote my letters by the post, and so to bed.

7th. It being fast-day, I stayed at home all day long to set things to right in my chamber by taking out all my books, and putting my chamber in the same condition it was before the plague.

8th. To Captain Cocke's, where by and by Lord Brouncker, he having been with the King and Duke upon the water today, to see Greenwich house and the yacht Castle is building of, and much good discourse.

9th. To Westminster, to the Exchequer, about my Tangier business, and so to the Hall, where the first day of the term, and the Hall very full of people, and much more than was expected,

considering the plague that hath been. To the Sun, to dinner with Colonel Norwood and others, where strange pleasure they seem to take in their wine and meat, and discourse of it with the curiosity and joy that methinks was below men of worth. Thence home, and there very much angry with my people till I had put all things in good forwardness about my supper for the Houblons; but that being done, I was in good humour again. Anon the five brothers Houblons came, and Mr. Hill, and a very good supper we had, and good company and discourse, with great pleasure. My new plate sets off my cupboard very nobly. A fine sight it is to see these five brothers thus loving one to another, and all industrious merchants. Mr. Hill's going for them to Portugal was the occasion of this entertainment.

10th. To the office. This day comes first Sir Thomas Harvey after the plague, having been out of town all this while. He was coldly received by us, and he went away before we rose also, to make himself appear yet a man less necessary. To supper, and to bed, being nowadays, for these four or five months, mightily troubled with my snoring in my sleep, and know not how to remedy it.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and put on a new black cloth suit to an old coat, that I make to be in mourning at Court, where they are all, for the King of Spain.<sup>1</sup> To church I, and at noon dined well, and then by water to White Hall, and there I to the Park, and walked two or three turns of the Pall Mall with the company about the King and Duke; the Duke speaking to me a good deal. There met Lord Brouncker and Mr. Coventry, and discoursed about the Navy business; and all of us much at a loss that we yet can hear nothing of Sir Jeremy Smith's fleet, that went away to the Straits the middle of December, through all the storms that we have had since, that have driven back three or four of them, with their masts by the board. Yesterday came out the King's Declaration of War against the French, but with such mild invitations of both them and the Dutch, to come over hither, with promise of their protection, that everybody wonders at it. My wife and I are much thoughtful nowadays about Pall's coming up in order to a husband.

12th. Comes Mr. Cæsar, my boy's lute-master, whom I have not seen since the plague before, but he hath been in Westminster all this while, very well; and tells me, in the height of it, how bold

<sup>1</sup> Philip IV, died 17th September 1665.

church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before anybody went, and now staying till all are come home; but he made but a very poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon. It was a frost, and had snowed last night, which covered the graves in the churchyard, so as I was the less afeard for going through. All the afternoon at my Journal till supper, it being a long while behindhand. At supper my wife tells me my aunt James is lately dead of the stone.

5th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to my Lord Brouncker's. My Lord invited me to dinner today to dine with Sir W. Batten and his Lady there; but lest he should think so little an invitation would serve my turn I refused and parted. To the 'Change, and there met Mr. Hill and with him the Houblons, and agreed that I must sup with them tonight. So visited my Lord Sandwich, and so to the Sun, behind the Exchange, about seven o'clock, where I find all the five brothers Houblons: and mighty fine gentlemen they are all, and used me mighty respectfully. We were mighty civilly merry, and their discourses, having been all abroad, very fine.

6th. To the office, where very busy all the morning. We met upon a report to the Duke of York of the debts of the Navy, which we finished by three o'clock; and, having eat one little bit of meat, I by water before the rest to White Hall because of a Committee for Tangier where I did my business of stating my accounts perfectly well and to good liking. After that to our Navy business, where my fellow officers were called in, and did that also very well, and then broke up and I home by coach. Stayed in Lombard Street and sent home for the plate which my wife and I had a mind to change, and there changed it, about £50 worth, into things more useful. So home to the office, wrote my letters by the post, and so to bed.

7th. It being fast-day, I stayed at home all day long to set things to right in my chamber by taking out all my books, and putting my chamber in the same condition it was before the plague.

8th. To Captain Cocke's, where by and by Lord Brouncker, he having been with the King and Duke upon the water today, to see Greenwich house and the yacht Castle is building of, and much good discourse.

9th. To Westminster, to the Exchequer, about my Tangier business, and so to the Hall, where the first day of the term, and the Hall very full of people, and much more than was expected,

16th. To my Lord Sandwich, to talk of his affairs, and particularly of his prize goods, wherein I find he is weary with being troubled, and gives over the care of it to let it come to what it will, having the King's release for the dividend made, and for the rest he thinks himself safe from being proved to have anything more. To the 'Change, Mr. Moore with me, who tells me very odd passages of the indiscretion of my Lord in the management of his family, of his carelessness, etc., which troubles me but makes me rejoice with all my heart of being rid of the bond of £1000, for that would have been a cruel blow to me. With Moore to the coffee-house, the first time I have been there, where very full, and company, it seems, hath been there all the plague time. The Queen comes to Hampton Court tonight. With Mr. Hater in the garden, talking about a husband for my sister, and reckoning up all our clerks about us, none of which he thinks fit for her and her portion. At last I thought of young Gauden, and will think of it again.

17th. News of Sir Jeremy Smith's being very well with his fleet at Calés.

18th. (Lord's day.) Lay long in bed discoursing with pleasure with my wife, among other things about Pall's coming up, for she must be here a little to be fashioned, and my wife has a mind to go down for her, which I am not much against; and so I rose and to my chamber to settle several things. At noon comes my uncle Wight to dinner and brings with him Mrs. Wight, sad company to me, nor was I much pleased with it, only I must show respect to my uncle. After dinner, they gone and it being a brave day, I walked to White Hall, where the Queen and ladies are all come: I saw some few of them, but not the Queen nor any of the great beauties. Met with Creed and walked with him a turn or two in the Park, but without much content, having now designs of getting money in my head, which allow me not the leisure I used to have with him. Thence took coach, and calling by the way at my bookseller's for a book writ about twenty years ago in prophecy of this year coming on, 1666, explaining it to be the mark of the beast,<sup>1</sup> I home and there fell to reading, and then to supper and to bed.

<sup>1</sup> The book purchased by Pepys is entitled *An Interpretation of the Number 666*. By Francis Potter, B.D., Oxford, 1642, 4to. A copy of this work in the British Museum contains the book-plate of 'William Hever, of Clapham, in the county of Surrey, Esq., 1699.'



19th. To see my Lord Hinchinbroke, which I did, and I am mightily out of countenance in my great expectation of him by others' report, though he is indeed a pretty gentleman, yet nothing what I took him for, methinks, either as to person or discourse discovered to me: but I must try him more before I go too far in censuring. I am told for certain, what I have heard once or twice already, of a Jew in town, that in the name of the rest do offer to give any man £10 to be paid £100 if a certain person now at Smyrna be within these two years owned by all the Princes of the East, and particularly the grand Signor, as the King of the world, in the same manner we do the King of England here, and that this man is the true Messiah. One named a friend of his that had received ten pieces in gold upon this score, and says that the Jew hath disposed of £1100 in this manner, which is very strange; and certainly this year of 1666 will be a year of great action: but what the consequences of it will be, God knows! To the 'Change, and from my stationer's thereabouts carried home by coach two books of Ogilby's, his *Æsop* and *Coronation*, which fell to my lot at his lottery. Cost me £4, besides the binding. So home. I find my wife gone out to Hales, her painter, and I after a little dinner do follow her, and there do find him at work, and with great content I do see it will be a very brave picture. To my Lord 'Treasurer's, where the state of our Navy debts was laid open, there being but £1,500,000 to answer a certain expense and debt of £2,300,000. Thence to White Hall, and there saw the Queen at cards with many ladies, but none of our beauties were there. But glad I was to see the Queen so well, who looks prettily, and methinks hath more life than before, since it is confessed of all that she miscarried lately; Dr. Clerke telling me yesterday of it at White Hall.<sup>1</sup>

20th. Up, and to the office; where, among other businesses, Mr. Evelyn's proposition about public infirmaries<sup>2</sup> was read and agreed on, he being there: and at noon I took him home to dinner, being desirous of keeping my acquaintance with him; and a most excellent humoured man I still find him, and mighty knowing. To my Lord Sandwich's, where coming and bolting into the dining-

<sup>1</sup> The details in the original are very coarsely expressed, but leave no doubt of the fact, exculpating the chancellor from the charge of having selected the queen as incapable of bearing children.

<sup>2</sup> For Evelyn's report about the proposed Chatham infirmary in 1666, see Rawlinson, A 195, fol. 249.

room, I there found Captain Ferrers going to christen a child of his, born yesterday, and I came just pat to be a godfather along with my Lord Hinchinbroke and Madam Pierce, my Valentine, which for that reason I was well contented with, though little vexed to see myself so beset with people to spend me money, as she of a Valentine, and little Miss Tooker, who is come to my house this day from Greenwich, and will cost me 20s., my wife going out with her this afternoon, and now this christening. Well! by and by the child is brought and christened Katharine, and I this day on this occasion drank a glass of wine, which I have not professedly done these two years, I think, but a little in the time of the sickness. After that done, and gone and kissed the mother in bed, I away to Westminster Hall, and thence home, where little Mrs. Tooker stayed all night with us, and a pretty child she is, and happens to be niece to my beauty that is dead, that lived at the Jackanapes, in Cheapside.

21st. With J. Minnes to White Hall by his coach, by the way talking of brother John to get a spiritual promotion for him, which I am now to look after, forasmuch as he is shortly to be Master in Arts, and writes me this week a Latin letter that he is to go into orders this Lent. Thence to the Duke's chamber, and here the Duke did bring out a book of great antiquity, of some of the customs of the Navy about 100 years since, which he did lend us to read and deliver him back again. Thence to Trinity House, being invited to an Elder Brother's feast; and there met and sat by Mr. Prin, and had good discourse about the privileges of Parliament, which, he says, are few to the Commons' House, and those not examinable by them, but only by the House of Lords. Thence with my Lord Brouncker to Gresham College, the first time after the sickness that I was there, and the second time any met. And here a good lecture of Mr. Hooke's about the trade of felt-making, very pretty; and anon he alone with me about the art of drawing pictures by Prince Rupert's rule and machine, and another of Dr. Wren's;<sup>1</sup> but he says nothing do like squares, or, which is the best in the world, like a dark room,<sup>2</sup> which pleased me mightily.

22d. By coach with my wife, for air, principally for her. I alone stopped at Hales's and there mightily am pleased with my wife's picture and with Mr. Hill's, though I must own I am not more pleased with it now the face is finished than I was when I saw it the second time of sitting. My wife to Mrs. Hunt's, who is lately

<sup>1</sup> Sir Christopher Wren.

<sup>2</sup> The camera obscura.

come to town and grown mighty fat. We are much troubled that the sickness in general, the town being so full of people, should be but three, and yet of the particular disease of the plague there should be ten increase.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich's, who did lie the last night at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, it being fine walking in the morning, and the streets full of people again. There I stayed, and the house full of people come to take leave of my Lord, who this day goes out of town upon his embassy towards Spain; and I was glad to find Sir W. Coventry to come, though I know it is only a piece of courtship. I had much discourse with my Lord. But we could not make an end, so I promised to wait upon him on Sunday at Cranborne; and took leave, and away hence to Mr. Hales's, and my wife's picture pleases me well, and I begin to doubt the picture of my Lady Peters my wife takes her posture from, and which is an excellent picture, is not of his making—it is so masterlike. Comes Mrs. Knipp to see my wife, and I spent all the night talking with this baggage, and teaching her my song of 'Beauty, retire,' which she sings and makes go most rarely, and a very fine song it seems to be. She also entertained me with repeating many of her own and others' parts of the playhouse, which she do most excellently; and tells me the whole practices of the playhouse and players, and is in every respect most excellent company. So I supped, and was merry at home all the evening, and the rather it being my birthday, 33 years, for which God be praised that I am in so good a condition of health and estate, and everything else as I am, beyond expectation, in all. Mightily pleased to find myself in condition to have these people come about me and to be able to entertain them, and have the pleasure of their qualities, than which no man can have more in this world.

24th. At the office till past three o'clock. At that hour home, and eat a bit alone, my wife being gone out. So abroad by coach with Mr. Hill, who stayed for me to speak about business, and he and I to Hales's, where I find my wife and her woman and Pierce and Knipp, and there sung, and was mighty merry, and I joyed myself in it; but vexed at first to find my wife's picture not so like as I expected; but it was only his having finished one part, and not another, of the face; but, before I went, I was satisfied it will be an excellent picture. Here we had ale and cakes, and mighty merry, and sung my song, which she [Knipp] now sings bravely, and makes me proud of myself. Thence left my wife to go home

with Mrs. Pierce, while I home to the office, and there pretty late, and to bed, after fitting myself for tomorrow's journey.

25th. (Lord's day.) My wife up between three and four of the clock in the morning to dress herself, and I about five, and were all ready to take coach, she and I and Mercer, a little past five, but, to our trouble, the coach did not come till six. Then with our coach of four horses I hire on purpose, and Leclimere to ride by, we through the City to Brentford and so to Windsor, and here drank, and so to Cranborne,<sup>1</sup> about eleven o'clock, and found my Lord and the ladies at a sermon in the house; which being ended, we to them, and all the company glad to see us, and mighty merry to dinner. Here was my Lord and Lord Hinchinbroke and Mr. Sidney,<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Harbord, and Mr. Carteret, my Lady Carteret, my Lady Jemimah, and Lady Slanning.<sup>3</sup> After dinner to walk in the Park, my Lord and I alone; and he tells me my Lord of Suffolk, Lord Arlington, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, Mr. Attorney Montagu, Sir Thomas Clifford in the House of Commons, Sir G. Carteret, and some others I cannot presently remember, are friends that I may rely on for him. He dreads the issue of this year, and fears there will be some very great revolutions before his coming back again. He doubts it is needful for him to have a pardon for his last year's actions, all which he did without commission, and at most but the King's private single word for that of Bergen; but he dares not ask it at this time, lest it should make them think that there is something more in it than yet they know; and if it should be denied, it would be of very ill consequence. He says, also, if it should in Parliament be enquired into the selling of Dunkirk (though the Chancellor was the man that would have sold it to France, saying the King of Spain had no money to give for it), yet he will be found to have been the greatest adviser of it, which he is a little apprehensive may be called upon by this Parliament. He told me it would not be necessary for him to tell me his debts, because he thinks I know them so well. He tells me that for the match propounded of Mrs. Mallett for my Lord Hinchinbroke, it hath been lately off, and now her friends bring it on again, and an overture hath been made to him by a servant of hers, to compass the thing without consent of friends, she herself

<sup>1</sup> Cranbourne Lodge. Sir G. Carteret's official residence, as vice-chamberlain.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney Montagu, Lord Sandwich's second son.

<sup>3</sup> Sir G. Carteret's daughter Anne.

having a respect to my Lord's family, but my Lord will not listen to it but in a way of honour.<sup>1</sup> Then I with the young ladies and gentlemen, who played on the guitar, and mighty merry, and anon to supper; and then my Lord going away to write, the young gentlemen to flinging of cushions and other mad sports till towards twelve at night, and then, being sleepy, I and my wife in a passage-room to bed, and slept not very well, because of noise.

26th. Called up about five in the morning, and my Lord up, and took leave, a little after six, very kindly of me and the whole company. Then I in, and my wife up and to visit my Lady Slaning in her bed and there sat three hours, with Lady Jemimah with us, talking and laughing. And by and by my Lady Carteret comes, and she and I to talk: and she cries out against my Lady Castlemaine that makes the King neglect his business; exclaims against the Duke of Albemarle, and more the Duchess for a filthy woman, as indeed she is. Here stayed till nine o'clock almost, and then took coach with so much love and kindness from my Lady Carteret, Lady Jemimah, and Lady Slanning, that it joys my heart. And when I consider the manner of my going hither, with a coach and four horses and servants and a woman with us, and coming hither being so much made of, and used with that state, and then going to Windsor and being shown all that we were there, and had wherewith to give everybody something for their pains, and then going home, and all in fine weather and no fears nor cares upon me, I do think myself obliged to think myself happy, and enjoy myself in that consideration, and not only please myself with thoughts of future wealth and forget the pleasure we at present enjoy. So took coach and to Windsor, to the Garter, and thither sent for Dr. Child,<sup>2</sup> who came to us and carried us to St. George's Chapel, and there placed us among the Knights' stalls; and pretty the observation, that no man, but a woman, may sit in a Knight's place, where any brass plates are set, and hither come cushions to us, and a young singing-boy to bring us a copy of the anthem to be sung. And here, for our sakes, had this anthem and the great service sung extraordinary, only to entertain us. It is a noble place indeed, and a good choir of voices. Great bowing by all the people, the poor Knights in particularly, to the Altar. After

<sup>1</sup> She afterwards married Lord Rochester.

<sup>2</sup> William Child, Doctor of Music, organist of St. George's Chapel, at Windsor: *ob.* 1697, aged ninety-one.

prayers, we to see the plate of the chapel and the robes of Knights, and a man to show us the banners of the several Knights in being, which hang up over the stalls. And so to other discourse, very pretty, about the Order. Was shown where the late King is buried, and King Henry the Eighth, and my Lady Seymour.<sup>1</sup> This being done, to the King's house, and to observe the neatness and contrivance of the house and gates: it is the most romantic castle that is in the world. But, Lord! the prospect that is in the balcony in the Queen's lodgings, and the terrace and walk, are strange things to consider, being the best in the world, sure. Infinitely satisfied, I and my wife, with all this, she being in all points mightily pleased too, which added to my pleasure; and so, giving a great deal of money to this and that man and woman, we to our tavern, and there dined, the Doctor with us; and so took coach and away to Eton, the Doctor with me. Before we went to chapel this morning Kate Joyce, in a stage-coach going towards London, called to me. I went to her and saluted her, but could not get her to stay with us, having company. At Eton I left my wife in the coach, and he and I to the College, and there find all mighty fine. The school good, and the custom pretty of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the window when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Provost and Fellow, that hath his name in the window standing. To the Hall, and there find the boys' verses, 'De Peste,' it being their custom to make verses at Shrove-tide. I read several, and very good they were; better, I think, than ever I made when I was a boy, and in rolls as long and longer than the whole Hall, by much. Here is a picture of Venice hung up, and a monument made of Sir H. Wotton's giving it to the College. Thence to the porter's, in the absence of the butler, and did drink of the College beer, which is very good; and went into the back fields to see the scholars play. And so to the chapel, and there saw, among other things, Sir H. Wotton's stone with this Epitaph:

Hic jacet primus hujus sententiæ Author:  
Disputandi pruritus fit ecclesiæ scabies.

But unfortunately the word 'Author' was wrong writ, and now so basely altered that it disgraces the stone. Thence took leave of the Doctor, and so took coach, and finely, but sleepy, away home, and got thither about eight at night, and after a little at my office,

<sup>1</sup> Queen Jane Seymour.

I to bed; and an hour after, was waked with my wife's quarrelling with Mercer, at which I was angry, and my wife and I fell out. But with much ado to sleep again, I beginning to practise more temper, and to give her her way.

27th. Up, and, after a harsh word or two, my wife and I good friends: and so up and to the office, where all the morning. At noon late to dinner, my wife gone out to Hales's about her picture, and after dinner I after her, and do mightily like her picture and think it will be as good as my Lady Peters's. So home mightily pleased, and there late at business and set down my three last days' journals, and so to bed overjoyed to think of the pleasure of the last Sunday and yesterday, and my ability to bear the charge of these pleasures, and with profit too, by obliging my Lord and reconciling Sir George Carteret's family.

28th. (Ash Wednesday.) Up, and after doing a little business at my office I walked, it being a most curious dry and cold morning, to White Hall, and there I went into the Park, and meeting Sir Philip Warwick took a turn with him in the Pall Mall, talking of the melancholy posture of affairs, where everybody is snarling one at another, and all things put together look ominously. We appointed another time to meet to talk of the business of the Navy alone seriously. And so parted, and I to White Hall and there we did our business with the Duke of York, and so parted, and walked to Westminster Hall where I stayed talking with Mrs. Michell and Howlett long, and her daughter which is become a mighty pretty woman. And thence going out of the Hall was called to by Mrs. Martin, so I went to her and bought two bands, and so away home, and there find Mrs. Knipp, and we dined together, she the pleasantest company in the world. After dinner I did give my wife money to lay out on Knipp, 20s. Abroad to White Hall to visit Colonel Norwood, and then Sir G. Carteret, and he very open to me: is very melancholy, and matters, I fear, go down with him, but he seems most afraid of a general catastrophe to the whole kingdom, and thinks, as I fear, that all things will come to nothing. Thence by coach home, and to the office, where a while, and then betimes to bed by ten o'clock, sooner than I have done many a day. And thus ends this month, with my mind full of resolution to apply myself better from this time forward to my business than I have done these six or eight days, visibly to my prejudice both in quiet of mind and setting backward of my business, that I cannot give a good account of it as I ought to do.

March 1st. At noon to dinner with my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Pen at the White Horse in Lombard Street, where, God forgive us! good sport with Captain Cocke's having his maid sick of the plague a day or two ago and sent to the pest-house, where she now is, but he will not say anything but that she is well. But blessed be God! a good Bill this week we have, being but 237 in all, and 42 of the plague, and of them but six in the City: though my Lord Brouncker says that these six are most of them in new parishes, where they were not the last week. Hence I slipped after dinner without notice home, and then close to my business at my office till twelve at night, having with great comfort returned to my business by some fresh vows in addition to my former, and more severe, and a great joy it is to me to see myself in a good disposition to business. So home to supper and to my journal and to bed.

2d. Up, as I have of late resolved, before seven in the morning; and to the office where all the morning, among other things setting my wife and Mercer with much pleasure to work upon the ruling of some paper for the making of books for pursers, which will require a great deal of work, and they will enter a good deal of money by it, the hopes of which makes them work mighty hard. To Sir Philip Warwick's new house by appointment, there to spend an hour in talking, and very good discourse about the state of the King as to money, and particularly in the point of the Navy. He seems to have a great esteem of me and my opinion and thoughts of things. After we had spent an hour thus discoursing and vexing that we do but grope so in the dark (because the people that should enlighten us do not help us), we resolved on fitting some things for another meeting and so broke up. He showed me his house, which is yet all unhung, but will be a very noble house indeed. Mr. James Houblon told me in my ear this night what he and his brothers have resolved to give me, which is £200 for helping them out with two or three ships. A good sum, and that which I did believe they would give me, and I did expect little less.

3d. To Hales's, and there saw my wife out; and I do like her picture mightily, and very like it will be, and a brave piece of work; but he do complain that her nose hath cost him as much work as another's face, and he hath done it finely indeed.

4th. (Lord's day.) All day at my Tangier and private accounts, having neglected them since Christmas, which I hope I shall never



do again; for I find the inconvenience of it, it being ten times the labour to remember and settle things. But I thank God I did it at last, and brought them all fine and right; and I am, I think, by all appears to me—and I am sure I cannot be £10 wrong—worth above £4,600, for which the Lord be praised, being the biggest sum I ever was worth yet.

5th. I was at it till past two o'clock on Monday morning, and then read my vows, and to bed with great joy and content. News for certain of the King of Denmark's declaring for the Dutch, and resolution to assist them.

6th. In the evening, being at Sir W. Batten's, I find my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams, and they would of their own accord, though I had never obliged them, nor my wife neither, with one visit for many of theirs, go see my house and my wife; which I showed them, and made them welcome with wine and China oranges, now a great rarity since the war, none to be had. My house happened to be mighty clean, and did me great honour, and they mightily pleased with it. My mind troubled through a doubtfulness of my having incurred Sir W. Coventry's displeasure by not having waited on him since his coming to town, which is a mighty fault that I can bear the fear of the bad effects of till I have been with him, which shall be tomorrow.

7th. Up betimes, and to St. James's, thinking Mr. Coventry had lain there; but he do not, but at White Hall; so thither I went and had as good a time as heart would wish. We walked an hour in the Matted Gallery: he of himself begun to discourse of the unhappy differences between him and my Lord of Sandwich; and, from the beginning to the end, did run through all passages wherein my Lord hath, at any time, gathered any dissatisfaction, and cleared himself to me most honourably; and, in truth, I do believe he do as he says. I did afterwards purge myself of all partiality in the business of Sir G. Carteret, whose story Sir W. Coventry did also run over—that I do mind the King's interest, notwithstanding my relation to him; all which he declares he firmly believes, and assures me he hath the same kindness and opinion of me as ever. And, when I said I was jealous of myself, that, having now come to such an income as I am, by his favour, I should not be found to do as much service as might deserve it, he did assure me he thinks it not too much for me, but thinks I deserve it as much as any man in England. All this discourse did cheer my heart, and sets me right again, after a good deal of melancholy, out of fears of his disin-

clination to me, upon the difference with my Lord Sandwich and Sir G. Carteret; but I am satisfied thoroughly, and so went away quite another man, and, by the grace of God, will never lose it again by my folly in not visiting and writing to him, as I used heretofore to do. It being a holiday, a fast-day, I to Greenwich, to Captain Cocke's, where dined, he and Lord Brouncker and Matt. Wren,<sup>1</sup> Bulteel and Major Cooper, who is also a very pretty companion; but they all drink hard, and, after dinner, to gaming at cards. Home, and to writing and hear my boy play on the lute, and a turn with my wife pleasantly in the garden by moonshine, my heart being in great peace. The King and Duke are to go tomorrow to Audley End, in order to the seeing and buying of it of my Lord Suffolk.<sup>2</sup>

8th. Up betimes and to the office, where all the morning sitting, and did discover three or four fresh instances of Sir W. Pen's old cheating dissembling tricks, he being as false a fellow as ever was born. Thence to the White Horse in Lombard Street to dine with Captain Cocke, and here by chance I saw the mistress of the house I have heard much of, and a very pretty woman she is indeed, and her husband the simplest looked fellow and old that ever I saw. To Hales's, where my wife is sitting; and, indeed, her face and neck, which are now finished, do so please me, that I am not myself almost, nor was not all the night after in writing of my letters, in consideration of the fine picture that I shall be master of.

9th. Up, and being ready to the Cockpit to make a visit to the Duke of Albemarle, and, to my great joy, find him the same man to me that he has been heretofore, which I was in great doubt of, through my negligence in not visiting of him a great while; and, having now set all to rights there, I am in mighty ease in my mind, and I think I shall never suffer matters to run so far backwards

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Wren, eldest son of the Bishop of Ely, of both his names, M.P. for St. Michael, 1661, and made secretary to Lord Clarendon, after whose fall he filled a similar office under the Duke of York, till his death in 1672. According to Pepys's *Signs Manual* Wren was mortally wounded in the battle of Sole Bay. He was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, and published two tracts in answer to Harrington's *Oceana*.

<sup>2</sup> The king took possession of Audley End the following autumn, but the conveyance of the estate was not executed till 8th May 1669; of the purchase money, which was £50,000, £20,000 remained on mortgage of the Hearth Tax in Ireland; and, in 1701, Henry Howard, fifth Earl of Suffolk, was allowed by the Crown, upon the debt being cancelled, to re-establish himself in the seat of his ancestors. It seems very doubtful whether the interest of the mortgage was ever received by the Suffolk family.

again as I have done of late, with reference to my neglecting him and Sir W. Coventry. Thence by water down to Deptford, and to measuring Mr. Castle's new third-rate ship, which is to be called the *Defiance*. And here I had my end in saving the King some money and getting myself some experience in knowing how they do measure ships. Home to Sir W. Batten's, and there Mrs. Knipp coming, we did spend the noon together very merry. She and I singing, and, God forgive me! I do still see that my nature is not to be quite conquered, but will esteem pleasure above all things, though yet in the middle of it it has reluctances after my business which is neglected by my following my pleasure. However, music and women I cannot but give way to, whatever my business is.

10th. I find at home Mrs. Pierce and Knipp come to dine with me. We were mighty merry; and, after dinner, I carried them and my wife out by coach to the New Exchange, and there I did give my Valentine, Mrs. Pierce, a dozen pair of gloves and a pair of silk stockings, and Knipp for company, though my wife had, by my consent, laid out 20s. on her the other day, six pair of gloves. Thence to the cake-house hard by, and there sat in the coach with great pleasure and eat some fine cakes, and so carried them to Pierce's, and away home. It is a mighty fine witty boy, Mrs. Pierce's little boy. Thence home and to the office, where late writing letters and leaving a great deal to do on Monday. The truth is, I do indulge myself a little the more in pleasure, knowing that this is the proper age of my life to do it; and, out of my observation that most men that do thrive in the world do forget to take pleasure during the time that they are getting their estate, but reserve that till they have got one, and then it is too late for them to enjoy it with any pleasure.

12th. Up betimes, and called on by abundance of people about business, and then away by water to Westminster, and so homeward and bought a silver salt for my ordinary table to use, and so home to dinner. After dinner comes my uncle and aunt Wight, the latter I have not seen since the plague; a silly, froward, ugly woman she is. We made mighty much of them, and she talks mightily of her fear of the sickness, and so a deal of tittle-tattle, and I left them and to my office where late. My uncle Talbot Pepys died the last week. All the news now is that Sir Jeremy Smith is at Cales with his fleet, and Mings in the *Elbe*. The King is come this noon to town from Audley End with the Duke of York and a fine train of gentlemen.

13th. The plague increased this week 29 from 28, though the total fallen from 238 to 207, which do never a whit please me.

14th. With my Lord Brouncker towards London, and in our way called in Covent Gardens, and took in Sir John, formerly Dr., Baber, who hath this humour, that he will not enter into discourse while any stranger is in company till he be told who he is that seems a stranger to him. This he did declare openly to me, and asked my Lord who I was, giving this reason, that he has been inconvenienced by being too free in discourse till he knew who all the company were. Thence to Guildhall, in our way taking in Dr. Wilkins, and there my Lord and I had full and large discourse with Sir Thomas Player,<sup>1</sup> the Chamberlain of the City (a man I have much heard of for his credit and punctuality in the City, and on that score I had a desire to be made known to him), about the credit of our tallies, which are lodged there for security to such as should lend money thereon to the use of the Navy. I had great satisfaction therein: and, the truth is, I find all our matters of credit to be in an ill condition. Thence, I being in a little haste, walked before and to the 'Change a little, and then to Trinity House to dinner, where Captain Cox made his Elder Brother's dinner. But it seemed to me a very poor sorry dinner. I having many things in my head, rose when my belly was full, though the dinner not half done, and there to do some business. And by and by out of doors and met Mr. Povy coming to me by appointment; but it being a little too late, I took a little pride in the street not to go back with him, but prayed him to come another time. To Hales's, and there had the pleasure to see how suddenly he draws the Heavens, laying a dark ground and then lightening it, when and where he will. To walk all alone in the fields behind Gray's Inn, making an end of reading over my dear 'Faber fortunæ,' of my Lord Bacon's. To Mrs. Pierce's, where I find much good company, that is to say, Mrs. Pierce, my wife, Mrs. Worshipp and her daughter, and Harris the player, and Knipp, and Mercer, and Mrs. Barbary Sheldon, who is come this day to spend a week with my wife. And there with music we danced and sung and supped till past one in the morning; and much mirth with Sir Anthony Apsley and one Colonel Sidney, who lodge in the house; and, above all, they are mightily taken with Mrs. Knipp.

<sup>1</sup> One of the City Members in the Oxford and Westminster parliaments. See more of him in the Notes, by Scott, to *Absalom and Achitophel*; in which poem he is introduced under the designation of 'railing Rabsheka.'

15th. I and my cousin Anthony Joyce discourse of our proposition of marriage between Pall and Harman. And upon discourse he and I to Harman's house and took him to a tavern hard by: and we to discourse of our business, and I offered £500, and he declares most ingenuously that his trade is not to be trusted on; that he, however, needs no money but would have her money bestowed on her, which I like well, he saying that he would adventure £200 or £300 with her. I like him as a most good-natured and discreet and, I believe, very cunning. We came to this conclusion, for us to meet one another the next week, and then we hope to come to some end. To Hales, where I met my wife and people, and do find the picture, above all things, a most pretty picture, and mighty like my wife; and I asked him his price: he says £14; and, the truth is, I think he do deserve it.

16th. Dined with my Lord Brouncker and Captain Cocke and Finn, and Madam Williams, who without question must be my Lord's wife, and else she could not follow him wherever he goes and kiss and use him publicly as she do. In the evening I to make good my journal for two or three days, and begun it till I come to the other side where I have scratched so much, for, for want of sleep, I begun to write idle and from the purpose. So forced to break off, and to bed.

17th. To Hales's, where I am still infinitely pleased with my wife's picture. I paid him £14 for the picture, and £1 5s. for the frame, and I think it not a whit too dear for so good a picture. It is not yet quite finished and dry, so as to be fit to bring home yet. This day I began to sit, and he will make me, I think, a very fine picture. He promises it shall be as good as my wife's, and I sit to have it full of shadows, and do almost break my neck looking over my shoulder to make the posture for him to work by. Home, having a great cold; so to bed, drinking butter-ale.

18th. (Lord's day.) To church and then home to dinner, and so walked out to St. James's church, thinking to have seen fair Mrs. Butler, but could not, she not being there, nor, I believe, lives thereabouts now. So walked to Westminster to Mrs. Martin's. She tells me as a secret that Betty Howlett of the Hall, my little sweetheart that I used to call my second wife, is married to a younger son of Mr. Michell's (his elder brother, who should have had her, being dead of the plague), at which I am glad, and they are to live nearer me in Thames Street, by the Old Swan.

19th. After dinner walked to the King's playhouse, all in dirt,

they being altering of the stage to make it wider. But God knows when they will begin to act again; but my business here was to see the inside of the stage and all the tiring-rooms and machines; and, indeed, it was a sight worthy seeing. But to see their clothes, and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was (here a wooden leg, there a ruff, here a hobby-horse, there a crown), would make a man split himself to see with laughing; and particularly Lacy's wardrobe, and Shotrell's.<sup>1</sup> But then again to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, and how poor things they are to look at too near hand, is not pleasant at all. The machines are fine, and the paintings very pretty. With Sir W. Warren, talking of many things belonging to us particularly, and I hope to get something considerably by him before the year be over. He gives me good advice of circumspection in my place, which I am now in great mind to improve; for I think our office stands on very ticklish terms, the Parliament likely to sit shortly, and likely to be asked more money, and we able to give a very bad account of the expense and of what we have done with what they did give before. Besides, the turning out the prize officers may be an example for the King's giving us up to Parliament's pleasure as easily, for we deserve it as much. Besides, Sir G. Carteret did tell me tonight how my Lord Brouncker, whose good-will I could have depended as much on as any, did himself to him take notice of the many places I have; and, though I was a painful man, yet the Navy was enough for any man to go through with in his own single place there, which much troubles me, and shall yet provoke me to more and more care and diligence than ever. This day by letter from my father he propounds a match in the country for Pall, which pleased me well, of one that hath seven score and odd pounds land *per annum* in possession and expects £1000 in money by the death of an old aunt. He hath neither father, mother, sister, nor brother, but demands £600 down and £100 on birth of first child, which I had some inclination to stretch to. He is kinsman to, and lives with, Mr. Phillips; but my wife tells me he is a drunken, ill-favoured, ill-bred country fellow, which sets me off of it again, and I will go on with Harman.

<sup>1</sup> Robert and William Shotterel both belonged to the king's company at the opening of their new theatre in 1664. One of them, called by Downs a good actor, had been quarter-master to the troop of horse in which Hart was serving as lieutenant, and Burt as cornet, under Charles I's standard; but nothing further is recorded of his merits or career. Pepys refers to Robert Shotterel who, it appears, was living in Playhouse Yard, Drury Lane, 1681-4.

20th. My wife, Mrs. Barbary, Mercer, and I by coach to Hales's where I find my wife's picture now perfectly finished in all respects, and a beautiful picture it is, as almost I ever saw. I sat again and had a great deal done; but, whatever the matter is, I do not fancy that it has the air of my face, though it will be a very fine picture.

21st. To the Duke of York, where we all met and did our usual business with him; but, Lord! how anything is yielded to presently, even by Sir W. Coventry, that is propounded by the Duke, as now to have Troutbecke,<sup>1</sup> his old surgeon, and intended to go Surgeon-General to the fleet, to go Physician-General of the fleet, of which there never was any precedent in the world, and he for that to have £20 per month. Thence with my Lord Brouncker to Sir Robert Long, whom we found in his closet, and after some discourse of business he fell to discourse at large and pleasant, and among other things told us of the plenty of partridges in France, where he says the King of France and his company killed with their guns, in the plain de Versailles, 300 and odd partridges at one bout. Home, and there walking late alone in the dark in the garden with Sir W. Warren, who tells me, that at the Committee of the Lords for the prizes today, there passed very high words between my Lord Ashley and Sir W. Coventry about our business of the prize ships; and that my Lord Ashley did snuff and talk as high to him as he used to do to any ordinary seaman; and that Sir W. Coventry did take it very quietly; but yet, for all, did speak his mind soberly and with reason; and went away, saying he had done his duty therein. Here he and I talked of a thousand businesses, all profitable discourse, and late parted: and I home to supper and to bed, troubled a little at a letter from my father telling me how he is like to be sued for a debt of Tom's by Smith, the mercer.

23rd. Up, and going out of my dressing-room when ready to go downstairs, I spied little Miss Tooker, my pretty little girl, which, it seems, did come yesterday to our house but I did not know of it till now. I was glad of her coming, she being a very pretty child, and now grown almost a woman. By coach to Anthony Joyce to receive Harman's answer, which did for me to receive, for he now demands £800, whereas he never made exception at the portion, but accepted of £200. This I do not like;

<sup>1</sup> John Troutbecke, in 1661, was surgeon to the Life Guards, commanded by the Duke of Albemarle.

but, however, I cannot much blame the man if he thinks he can get more of another than of me.

24th. To White Hall, to a Committee for Tangier, and I acquitted myself well in what I had to do. After the Committee up, I had occasion to follow the Duke into his lodgings, into a chamber where the Duchess was sitting to have her picture drawn by Lely, who was there at work. But I was well pleased to see that there was nothing near so much resemblance of her face in his work, which is now the second, if not the third time, as there was of my wife's at the very first time. Nor do I think at last it can be like, the lines not being in proportion to those of her face.

25th. (Lady Day and Sunday.) Up, and to my chamber in my gown all the morning about settling my papers there. At noon to dinner, where my wife's brother, whom I sent for to offer making him a Muster-Master and send to sea, which the poor man likes well of and will go, and it will be a good preferment to him, only hazardous. I hope he will prove a good discreet man. After dinner to my papers and Tangier accounts again till supper, and after supper again to them; but by my mixing them, I know not how, my private and public accounts, it makes me mad to see how hard it is to bring them to be understood, and my head is confounded, that though I did swear to sit up till one o'clock upon them, yet I fear it will be to no purpose, for I cannot understand what I do or have been doing of them today.

26th. My Lord Brouncker and I to the Tower, to see the famous Engraver,<sup>1</sup> to get him to grave a seal for the office. And did see some of the finest pieces of work, in embossed work, that ever I did see in my life, for fineness and smallness of the images thereon, and I will carry my wife thither to show them her. Here I also did see bars of gold melting, which was a fine sight. To Broad Street, to Sir G. Carteret by his desire, to confer with him, who is, I find, in great pain about the business of the office, and not a little, I believe, in fear of falling there, Sir W. Coventry having so great a pique against him. Thence home to the office, where busy late, and so home a little to my accounts public and private, but could not get myself rightly to know how to dispose of them in order to passing.

27th. All the morning at the office busy. At noon dined at home: Mr. Cooke, our old acquaintance, came to see and dine with me, but I quite out of humour, having many other and better

<sup>1</sup> John Roettiers. Simon was dead.



things to think of. To my public accounts of Tangier, which it is strange how I am become entangled therein, so that after all I could do, ready to break my head and brains. I thought of another way, though not so perfect, yet the only one which this account is capable of. Upon this latter I sat up till past two in the morning, and then to bed.

28th. Up, and with Creed to White Hall by water, mighty merry in discourse, though I had been very little troubled with him, or did countenance it, having now, blessed be God! a great deal of good business to mind to better purpose than chatting with him. With Sir W. Clerke into St. James's Park, and met with Mr. Hayes, Prince Rupert's Secretary, who are mighty, both, brisk blades; but I fear they promise themselves more than they expect. To the Cockpit, and dined with a great deal of company at the Duke of Albemarle's, and a bad and dirty, nasty dinner. So by coach to Hales's. Hither came my wife and Mercer and Knipp: we were mighty merry, and the picture goes on the better for it. This night, I am told, the Queen of Portugal,<sup>1</sup> the mother to our Queen, is lately dead, and news brought of it hither this day.

29th. This day, poor Jane, my old, little Jane, came to us again, to my wife's and my great content, and we hope to take mighty pleasure in her, she having all the marks and qualities of a good and loving and honest servant, she coming by force away from the other place, where she hath lived ever since she went from us and at our desire, her late mistress having used all the stratagems she could to keep her.

30th. Up, and away goes Alce, our cook-maid, a good servant, whom we loved and did well by her, and she an excellent servant, but would not bear being told of any fault in the fewest and kindest words, and would go away of her own accord, after having given her mistress warning ficklely for a quarter of a year together. I out to Lombard Street, and there received £2200, and brought it home; and, contrary to expectation, received £35 for the use of £2000 of it for a quarter of a year, where it hath produced me this profit, and hath been a convenience to me, as to care and security, at my house, and demandable at two days' warning, as this hath been. To Hales's, and there sat till almost quite dark upon working my gown, which I hired to be drawn in; an Indian gown.

31st. To my accounts, but, Lord! what a deal of do I have to

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Donna Luisa, widow of Juan IV, and daughter of the Duque de Medina Sidonia.

understand any part of them; for I have sat up these four nights till past twelve at night to master them, but cannot. However, I do see that I must be grown richer than I was by a good deal last month.

April 1st. (Lord's day.) To Charing Cross, to wait on Sir Philip Howard, whom I found in bed: and he do receive me very civilly. My request was about suffering my wife's brother to go to sea, and to save his pay in the Duke's guards; which, after a little difficulty, he did with great respect agree to. I find him a very fine-spoken gentleman, and one of great parts, and very courteous. Meeting Dr. Allen, the physician, he and I and another walked in the Park, a most pleasant, warm day; and to the Queen's chapel, where I do not so dislike the music. Here I saw on a post an invitation to all good Catholics to pray for the soul of such a one departed this life. The Queen, I hear, do not yet hear of the death of her mother, she being in a course of physic, that they dare not tell it her. Up and down my Lord St. Albans his new building and market-house,<sup>1</sup> looking to and again into every place of building. I this afternoon made a visit to my Lady Carteret, whom I understood newly come to town; and she took it mighty kindly, but I see her face and heart are dejected from the condition her husband's matters stand in. But I hope they will do all well enough; and I do comfort her as much as I can, for she is a noble lady.

2d. With Mr. Gauden to Guildhall, and by the way in the street his new coach broke, and we fain to take an old hackney. Thence walking with Mr. Gauden in Westminster Hall, to talk of his son Benjamin; and I propounded a match for him, and at last named my sister, which he embraces heartily; and, full of it, did go with him to London to the 'Change; and there, with Sir W. Warren, who very wisely did show me that my matching my sister with Mr. Gauden would undo me in all my places, everybody suspecting me in all I do; and I shall neither be able to serve him, nor free myself from imputation of being of his faction, while I am placed for his severest check. I was convinced that it would be for neither of our interests to make this alliance, and so am quite off of it again, but with great satisfaction in the motion. To

<sup>1</sup> Jermyn Street and St. Albans, from his name and title. The market was afterwards called St. James's Market; a portion of which long remained, south of that part of Jermyn Street that lies between Regent Street and the Haymarket.

Westminster Hall, where I purposely took my wife well dressed into the Hall to see and be seen; and, among others, met Howlett's daughter, who is newly married, and is she I call wife, and one I love mightily.

3rd. To the office, where busy all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and there my brother [-in-law] Balty dined with me and my wife, who is become a good serious man, and I hope to do him good being sending him a Muster-Master on one of the squadrons of the fleet. After dinner and he gone I to my accounts hard all the afternoon till it was quite dark, and I thank God I do come to bring them very fairly to make me worth £5000 stock in the world, which is a great mercy to me.

4th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen in his coach to White Hall, in his way talking simply and fondly as he used to do; but I find myself to slight him and his simple talk, I thank God, and that my condition will enable me to do it. Home, and, being washing day, dined upon cold meat, and so abroad by coach to Hales's, and there sat till night, mightily pleased with my picture which is now almost finished. By coach home, and after supper to bed, consulting how to send my wife into the country to advise about Pall's marriage, which I much desire, and two or three offers are now in hand.

5th. To Lombard Street, and then at Viner's was shown the silver plates made for Captain Cocke, to present to my Lord Brouncker; and I chose a dozen of the same weight to be bespoke for myself, which he told me yesterday he would give me on the same occasion. To the office, where the falseness and impertinencies of Sir W. Pen would make a man mad to think of. At noon would have avoided, but could not, dining with my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, with Captain Cocke, at the Sun tavern in Fish Street, where a good dinner; but the woman do tire me, and indeed how simply my Lord Brouncker, who is otherwise a wise man, do proceed at the table in serving of Cocke, without any means of understanding in his proposal, or defence when proposed would make a man think him a fool. After dinner home, where I find my wife has on a sudden, upon notice of a coach going away tomorrow, taken a resolution of going in it to Brampton. So she to fit herself for her journey, and I to the office all the afternoon till late, and so home, and late putting notes to 'It is decreed, nor shall thy fate, etc.,' and then to bed. The plague is, to our great grief, increased nine this week, though decreased a few in the total. And

this increase runs through many parishes, which makes us much fear the next year.

6th. Up mighty betimes upon my wife's going this day towards Brampton. I could not go to the coach with her, but W. Hewer did, and hath leave from me to go the whole day's journey with her. Met by agreement with Sir Stephen Fox and Mr. Ashburnham, and discoursed the business of our Excise tallies; the former being Treasurer of the Guards, and the other Cofferer of the King's household. Home, where all things, methinks, melancholy in the absence of my wife. This day great news of the Swedes declaring for us against the Dutch, and, so far as that, I believe it.

7th. To Mrs. Williams's, where Bab. Allen and I sang and were mighty merry as we could be there, where the rest of the company did not overplease. Thence took her by coach to Hales's, and there find Mrs. Pierce. She had done sitting the first time, and indeed her face is mighty like at first dash. About ten of the clock, W. Hewer comes to me to tell me that he left my wife well this morning at Bugden, which was great riding, and brings me a letter from her.

8th. (Lord's day.) To the Duke of York, where we all met to hear the debate between Sir Thomas Allen and Mr. Wayth; the former complaining of the latter's ill usage of him at the late pay of his ship; but a very sorry, poor occasion we had for it. The Duke did determine it with great judgment, chiding both, but encouraging Wayth to continue to be a check to all Captains in anything to the King's right. And, indeed, I never did see the Duke do anything more in order, nor with more judgment, than he did pass the verdict in this business. The Court full this morning of the news of Tom Chiffinch's death, the King's closet-keeper. He was well last night as ever, playing at tables in the house, and not very ill this morning at six o'clock, yet dead before seven: they think, of an imposthume in his breast. But it looks fearfully among people nowadays, the plague, as we hear, increasing everywhere again. To the chapel, but could not get in to hear well. But I had the pleasure, once in my life, to see an Archbishop,<sup>1</sup> this was of York, in a pulpit. Then at a loss how to get home to dinner, having promised to carry Mrs. Hunt thither. At last got my Lord Hinchinbroke's coach, he staying at Court; and so took her up in Axe-yard, and home and dined; and good discourse of

<sup>1</sup> Richard Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle, elected Archbishop of York 1664: *ob.* 1683.

the old matters of the Protector and his family, she having a relation to them. The Protector <sup>1</sup> lives in France: spends about £500 per annum. To St. James's Chapel, thinking to have heard a Jesuit preach, but came too late. At night had Mercer comb my head, and to supper, sing a psalm, and to bed.

9th. Up betimes, and with my joiner begun the making of the window in my boy's chamber bigger, purposing it shall be a room to eat and for having music in. By coach to Mrs. Pierce's, and with her and Knipp and Mrs. Pierce's boy and girl abroad, thinking to have been merry at Chelsea; but being come almost to the house by coach near the water-side, a house alone (I think the Swan), a gentleman walking by called to us to tell us that the house was shut up of the sickness. So we, with great affright, turned back, being holden to the gentleman; and went away, I, for my part, in great disorder, for Kensington, and there spent about 30s. upon the youths with great pleasure, and we sang finely and stayed about eight at night, the night coming on apace, and so set them down and so away home.

10th. To the office, and again all the afternoon, the first time of our resolution to sit both forenoons and afternoons. Much business at night, and then home to supper, and, after having my head combed by the little girl, to bed.

11th. To White Hall, having first set my people to work about setting our rails upon the leads of my wife's closet, a thing I have long designed. To Hales's, where there was nothing found to be done more to my picture, but the music, which now pleases me mightily, it being painted true. To Gresham College, where a great deal of do and formality in choosing of the Council and officers. I had three votes to be of the Council, who am but a stranger, nor expected any. My Lord Brouncker being confirmed President, I home where I find to my great content my rails up upon my leads. At my Tangier accounts, which I find are mighty apt to run into confusion, my head also being too full of other businesses and pleasures.

12th. Taking a turn in the garden, my Lady Pen comes to me, and takes me into her house, where I find her daughter and a pretty lady of her acquaintance, one Mrs. Lowther,<sup>2</sup> sister, I suppose, of her servant Lowther's, with whom I, notwithstanding all my

<sup>1</sup> Richard Cromwell.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Lowther, subsequently married to John Holmes, afterwards knighted.

resolution to follow business close this afternoon, did stay talking and playing the fool almost all the afternoon, and there saw two or three foolish sorry pictures of her doing, but very ridiculous compared with what my wife can do. She grows mighty homely, and looks old. Thence to the office, where my Lord Brouncker came: and he and I had a little fray, he being, I find, a very peevish man, if he be denied what he expects, and very simple in his arguments; but we were pretty good friends before we parted.

13th. Called up by my wife's brother, for whom I have got a commission from the Duke of York for Muster-Master of one of the divisions, of which Harman is Rear Admiral. With Balty into the Park, and to the Queen's chapel—it being Good Friday—where people were all upon their knees very silent, but, it seems, no mass this day. To Mr. Hales's. Here he and I presently resolved of going to White Hall, to spend an hour in the galleries there, among the pictures; and we did so, to my extraordinary satisfaction, he showing me the difference in the paintings, and I do not find so many good things as I thought there was. Back again to his house to see his pictures. Here we fell into discourse of my picture, and I am for his putting out the landscape; though he says it is very well done, yet I do judge it will be best without it, and so it shall be put out, and be made a plain sky like my wife's picture, which will be very noble. Thence called upon an old woman in Pannier Alley to agree for ruling of some paper for me, and she will do it pretty cheap. Here I found her have a very comely black maid for her servant, which I liked very well.

15th. Walked into the Park to the Queen's chapel, and there heard a good deal of their mass, and some of their music, which is not so contemptible, I think, as our people would make it, re, pleasing me very well; and, indeed, better than the anthem I hwith afterwards at White Hall, at my coming back. I stayed till thmts to went down to receive the Sacrament, and stood in his closewant of great many others, and there saw him receive it, which Lier grows see the manner of beforc. But I do see very littlghty infirm between the degree of the ceremonies used by our administration thereof, and that in the Roman chur  
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Mr. Pierce's, and there dined: very good  
discourse, they being able to tell me all th

the amours and the mad doings that are there: how for certain Mrs. Stuart is become the King's mistress; and that the King hath many bastard children that are known and owned, besides the Duke of Monmouth. After a great deal of this discourse I walked thence into the Park with her little boy James with me, who is the wittiest boy and the best company in the world, and so back again through White Hall both coming and going; and people did generally take him to be my boy, and some would ask me. Thence home to Mr. Pierce again; and he being gone forth, she and I and the children out by coach to Kensington, to where we were the other day, and with great pleasure stayed till night; and were mighty late getting home, the horses tiring and stopping at every twenty steps. Seeing them well at home, I homeward, but the horses at Ludgate Hill made a final stop; so there I lighted, and with a link walked home.

16th. Comes Mrs. Mercer and fair Mrs. Turner, a neighbour of hers, to visit me. I stayed a great while with them, being taken with this pretty woman, though a mighty silly, affected, citizen woman she is. Called at Kirton's to borrow 10s. to pay for my ruled papers, I having not money in my pocket enough to pay for them. But it was a pretty consideration that on this occasion I was considering where I could with most confidence in a time of need borrow 10s., and I protest I could not tell where to do it, and with some trouble and fear did ask it here. So that God keep me from want, for I shall be in a very bad condition to help myself if ever I should come to want or borrow.

17th. To the office, but, Lord! what a conflict I had with myself, my heart tempting me 1000 times to go abroad about some pleasure or other, notwithstanding the weather foul. However, strait did not budge; and, to my great content, did a great deal of President's.

upon my To Mr. Lely's, the painter's; and there saw the heads, apt to ruish, and all begun, of the Flagmen<sup>1</sup> in the late great fight businesses Duke of York against the Dutch. The Duke of York

12th. Taken to hang in his chamber, and very finely they are and takes me in. There are the Prince's, Sir F. Ascue's, Sir Thomas lady of her acquaintance Christopher Mings, Sir Joseph Jordan, Sir her servant Lowth. Sir Thomas Allen,<sup>3</sup> and Captain Harman's, as

<sup>1</sup> Richard Cromwell.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Lowther, subsequently knighted.

<sup>3</sup> Then Vice-admiral of the White. Comptroller of the Navy.

Sir W. Pen's, and Sir Jeremy Smith's.<sup>1</sup> I was very well satisfied with this sight, and other good pictures hanging in the house. To the Exchange, and there did see great plenty of fine prints; but did buy only a print of an old pillar in Rome made for a Naval triumph,<sup>2</sup> which, for the antiquity of the shape of ships, I buy and keep.<sup>3</sup> Thence to the New Exchange and looked over some play books and intend to get all the late new plays. Thence away to Mrs. Pierce's, who was not at home but gone to my house to visit me with Mrs. Knipp. I therefore took up the little girl Betty and my maid Mary that now lives there, and to my house, where they had been but were gone. So in our way back again met them coming back again (to my house) in Cornhill, and there stopped, laughing at our pretty misfortunes. And so I carried them to Fish Street, and there treated them with prawns and lobsters; and it beginning to grow dark, we away: but the jest is our horses would not draw us up the hill, but we were fain to 'light and stay till the coachman had made them draw down to the bottom of the hill, thereby warming their legs, and then they came up cheerfully enough. And we got up, and I carried them home; and coming home, called at my paper ruler's, and there found black Evan, which pleases me mightily. In all my ridings in the coach and intervals my mind has been full these three weeks of setting in music 'It is decreed,' etc.

19th. To the office, where all the morning. At noon dined with Sir W. Warren at the Pope's Head. So back to the office, and there met with the Commissioners of the Ordnance, where Sir W. Pen, being almost drunk, vexed me, and the more because Mr. Chicheley observed it and it was a disparagement to the office. Anon comes home my wife from Brampton, not looked for till Saturday, which will hinder me of a little pleasure, but I am glad of her coming. She tells me Pall's business with Ensum is like to go on, but I must give, and she consents to it, another £100. She says she doubts my father is in want of money, for rents come in mighty slowly. My mother grows very unpleasant and troublesome and my father mighty infirm

<sup>1</sup> Pepys omits Sir John Lawson. The pictures (Prince Rupert excepted) are now in the Naval Hall at Greenwich.

<sup>2</sup> The *columna rostrata* erected in the Forum to C. Duilius, who obtained a triumph for the first naval victory over the Carthaginians, 261 B.C. Part of the column was discovered in the ruins of the Forum near the arch of Septimius, and transferred to the Capitol.

<sup>3</sup> This is the first mention of Pepys buying prints.



through his old distemper,<sup>1</sup> which altogether makes me mighty thoughtful.

20th. Up, and after an hour or two's talk with my poor wife, who gives me more and more content every day than other, I abroad by coach to Westminster, and there met with Mrs. Martin. She and I over the water to Stangate, and after a walk in the fields to the King's Head, and there spent an hour or two with pleasure with her, and eat a tansy and so parted. I to the New Exchange, there to get a list of all the modern plays, which I intend to collect and to have them bound up together. Thence to Mr. Hales's, and there, though against his particular mind, I had my landscape done out and only a heaven made in the room of it; which, though it do not please me thoroughly now it is done, yet it will do better than as it was before. Thence to Paul's Church-yard, and there bespoke some new books. So home and to my office a little, but was hindered of business I intended by being sent for to Mrs. Turner, who desired some discourse with me and lay her condition before me, which is bad and poor. Thence to talk generally of our neighbours. I find she tells me the faults of all of them, and their bad words of me and my wife, and indeed do discover more than I thought. So I told her, and so will practise, that I will have nothing to do with any of them. She ended all with a promise of shells to my wife, very fine ones indeed, and seems to have great respect and honour for my wife. So home and to bed.

21st. At the office to finish my matters against the meeting before the Duke this afternoon. So home about three to clap a bit of meat in my mouth, and so away to White Hall, and there to the Duke. But he being to go abroad to take the air, he dismissed us. So my Lord Brouncker and I down to walk in the garden at White Hall, it being a mighty hot and pleasant day; and there was the King, who, among others, talked to us a little; and, among other pretty things, he swore merrily that he believed the ketch that Sir W. Batten bought the last year at Colchester was of his own getting, it was so thick to its length. Another pleasant thing he said of Christopher Pett, commending him that he will not alter his moulds of his ships upon any man's advice; 'as,' says he, 'Commissioner Taylor, I fear, do of his New London, that he makes it differ, in hopes of mending the Old London, built by him.' 'For,' says he, 'he finds that God hath put him into the right, and so will keep in it while he is in.' 'And,' says the King,

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25th. I to the office, where Mr. Prin came to meet about the Chest-business; and, till company come, did discourse with me a good while alone in the garden about the laws of England, telling me the many faults in them; and, among others, their obscurity through multitude of long statutes, which he is about to abstract out of all of a sort; and, as he lives and Parliaments come, get them put into laws, and the other statutes repealed, and then it will be a short work to know the law, which appears a very noble good thing. Abroad to my ruler's of my books, having, God forgive me! a mind to see Evan there, which I did. So that indeed, I am not as I ought to be, able to command myself in the pleasures of my eye. So home, and with my wife and Mercer spent our evening upon our new leads by our bedchamber singing, while Mrs. Mary Batelier looked out of the window to us, and we talked together. My wife and I stayed there till eleven o'clock at night, and it is a convenience I would not want for anything in the world, it being, methinks, better than almost any room in my house. So, having supped on the leads, to bed. The plague, blessed be God! is decreased sixteen this week.

28th. My wife to her father's, to carry him some ruling work, which I have advised her to let him do. It will get him some money. She was also to look a necklace of pearl, which she is mighty busy about, I being contented to lay out £80 in one for her. Balty took leave of us, going to sea, and upon very good terms, to be Muster-Master of a squadron, which will be worth £100 this year to him, besides keeping him the benefit of his pay in the Guards. Very busy all the afternoon, among other things writing a letter to my brother John (the first I have done since my being angry with him), and that so sharp a one, too, that I was sorry almost to send it: but it is preparatory to my being kind to him

May 1666

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

and sending for him up hither when he has passed his degree of Master of Arts.

29th. (Lord's day.) To Church, where Mr. Mills, a lazy, simple sermon upon the Devil's having no right to anything in this world. To Mr. Evelyn's, where I walked in his garden till he came from church, with great pleasure reading Ridley's<sup>1</sup> discourse, all my way going and coming, upon the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law. He being come home, he and I walked together in the garden with mighty pleasure, he being a very ingenious man; and the more I know him, the more I love him. Weary to bed, after having my hair of my head cut shorter, even close to my skull, for coolness, it being mighty hot weather.

30th. I after dinner to even all my accounts of this month, and, bless God! I find myself, notwithstanding great expenses of late; (viz., £80 now to pay for a necklace; near £40 for a set of chairs and couch; near £40 for my three pictures) yet I do gather, and am now worth £5200. My wife comes home by and by, and hath pitched upon a necklace with three rows, which is a very good one, and £80 is the price. At night home and up to the leads, but were contrary to expectation driven down again with a stink by Sir W. Pen's shying of a vessel close by, which do trouble me for fear it do hereafter annoy me. So down to sing a little, and then to bed. So ends this month with great layings-out. Good health and gettings, and advanced well in the whole of my estate, for which God make me thankful!

May 1st. At noon, my cousin Thomas Pepys did come to me, to consult about the business of his being a Justice of the Peace, which he is much against; and, among other reasons, tells me, as a confidant, that he is not free to exercise punishment according to the Act against Quakers and other people, for religion. Nor do he understand Latin and so is not capable of the place as formerly, now all warrants do run in Latin. Nor is he in Kent, though he be of Deptford parish, his house standing in Surrey.<sup>2</sup> However, I did bring him to incline towards it, if he be pressed to take it. I do think it may be some repute to me to have my kinsman in Commission there, specially if he behave himself to content in the country. By water to Redriffe, reading a new French book my Lord Brouncker did give me today, 'L'Histoire Amoureuse des

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Ridley, a Master in Chancery; *ob.* 1629. His work was first printed in 1607.

<sup>2</sup> Hatcham, near New Cross, on the Deptford road.

being St. George's day and the King's Coronation, and the day of the Prince and Duke's going to sea.

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5th. About eleven, it being a very fine moonshine, and with my content my wife and Mercer came into the garden, and, my business being done, we sang till about twelve at night, with mighty pleasure to ourselves and neighbours, by their casements opening.

6th. (Lord's day.) To church. After dinner busy till night in fitting my Victualling papers, which I, through my multitude of business and pleasure, have not examined these several months.

7th. Up betimes to set my Victualling papers in order against Sir W. Coventry comes, which indeed makes me very melancholy, being conscious that I am much to seek in giving a good answer to his queries. At the office mighty busy, and brought myself into a pretty plausible condition before Sir W. Coventry came, and did give him a pretty tolerable account of everything. To my Lord Treasurer's and the Exchequer about my Tangier businesses, and so passed by all things and persons without so much as desiring any stay or loss of time with them, by strong vow obliged on no occasion to stay abroad but my public offices. To the office, where I stay till late at night, and so weary and a little conscious of my failures today, yet proud that the day is over without more observation on Sir W. Coventry's part; and so to bed and to sleep soundly.

8th. Comes Mr. Downing, the anchor-smith, who had given me 50 pieces in gold the last month, to speak for him to Sir W. Coventry, for his being smith at Deptford; but, after I had got it granted to him, he finds himself not fit to go on with it, so lets it fall. I, therefore, in honour and conscience, took him home, and, though much to my grief, did yet willingly and forcibly force him to take the money again, and glad to have given him so much cause to speak well of me.

9th. To White Hall, and heard the Duke commend Deane's ship, the Rupert, before the Denance, built lately by Castle, in hearing of Sir W. Batten, which pleased me mightily. To Pierce's, where I find Knipp. Thence with them to Cornhill, to call and choose a chimney-piece for Pierce's closet, and so home, where my wife in mighty pain and mightily vexed at my being abroad with these women; and, when they were gone, called them strumpets and I know not what, which vexed me, having been so innocent with them. So I with them to Mrs. Turner's and there sat with them a while. Anon my wife sends for me: I come, and what was it but to scold at me and she would go abroad to take the air, that she would. So I left my company and went with her

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she do find with reason that, in the company of Pierce, Knipp, or other women that I love, I do not value her or mind her as I ought. However, very good friends by and by. This day came home again my little girl Susan, her sickness proving an ague, and she had a fit soon almost as she came home. The fleet is not yet gone from the Nore. The plague increases in many places, and is 53 this week with us.

13th. (Lord's day.) To Westminster, and fell by chance into St. Margaret's church, where I heard a young man play the fool upon the doctrine of Purgatory. At this church I spied Betty Howlett, who indeed is mighty pretty, and struck me mightily. After church, standing in the church-yard, she spied me; so I went to her, her father and mother and husband being with her. They desired, and I agreed to go home with Mr. Michell, and there had the opportunity to have saluted two or three times Betty and make an acquaintance which they are pleased with, though not so much as I am or they think I am.

14th. Finding it a leisure day, fell to making clean my closet in my office, which I did to my content and set up my platts again, being much taken also with Griffin's maid, that did clean it, being a pretty maid. I left her at it, and toward Westminster, myself with my wife, by coach, and meeting took up Mr. Lovett the varnisher with us, who is a pleasant-speaking and humoured man, and a good deal of work I believe I shall procure him. In the evening out with my wife and my aunt Wight to take the air, and happened to have a pleasant race between our hackney coach and a gentleman's. Having come home, I fell to examine my wife's kitchen book, and found 20s. mistake, which made me mighty angry and great difference between us, and so in the difference to bed.

15th. I to my Lord Crewe's, who is very lately come to town, and he talked for half an hour of the business of the war, wherein he is very doubtful, from our want of money, that we shall fail; and I do concur with him therein. After some little discourse of ordinary matters I away to Sir Philip Warwick's again, and he was come in, and gone out to my Lord Treasurer's; whither I followed him, and there my business was, to be told that my Lord Treasurer hath got £10,000 for us in the Navy, to answer our great necessities, which I did thank him for; but the sum is not considerable.

16th. To the Exchequer, where the lazy rogues have not yet done my tallies, which vexes me. Thence to Mr. Hales, and paid him for my picture, and Mr. Hill's, for the first £14 for the picture,



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21st. I away in some haste to my Lord Ashley, where it is stupendous to see how favourably, and yet closely, my Lord Ashley carries himself to Mr. Yeabsly in his business, so as I think we shall do his business for him in very good manner. But it is a most extraordinary thing to observe, and that which I would not but have had the observation of for a great deal of money.

23d. Towards White Hall, calling in my way on my Lord Bellassis, where I came to his bed-side, and he did give me a full and long account of his matters, how he left them at Tangier. Declares himself fully satisfied with my care: seems cunningly to argue for increasing the number of men there. Told me the whole story of his gains by the Turkey prizes, which he owns he hath got about £5000 by. Promised me the same profits Povy was to have had. And, in fine, I find him a pretty subtle man; and so I left him. To White Hall, and there stayed at Sir G. Carteret's chamber till the Council rose, and then he and I, by agreement this morning, went forth in his coach by Tyburn to the Park, discoursing of the state of the Navy as to money, and the state of the kingdom too, how ill able to raise more: and of our office, as to the condition of the officers; he giving me caution as to myself, that there are those that are my enemies as well as his, and by name my Lord Brouncker, who hath said some odd speeches against me. So that he advises me to stand on my guard; which I shall do, and, unless my too-much addiction to pleasure undo me, will be acute enough for any of them. My right eye sore and full of humour of late, I think by my late change of my brewer, and having of 8s. beer.

24th. Mr. Shepley is newly come out of the country, and came to see us. He left all well there; but I perceive under some discontent in my Lord's behalf, thinking that he is under disgrace with the King; but he is not so at all, as Sir G. Carteret assures me.

25th. Captain Cocke tells me that my silver plates are ready for me, and shall be sent me speedily; and proposes another proposition of serving us with a thousand tons of hemp, and tells me it shall bring me £500 if the bargain go forward, which is a good word. Thence to Sir G. Carteret, and to dinner with him, a good dinner. There came a gentleman over from France arrived here this day, Mr. Brown, of St. Malo, who, among other things, tells me the meaning of the setting out of dogs every night out of the town walls, which are said to secure the city; but it is not so, but only to secure the anchors, cables, and ships that lie dry, which might

otherwise in the night be liable to be robbed. And these dogs are set out every night, and called together in every morning, by a man with a horn, and they go in very orderly.

27th. (Lord's day.) To my office till church time to write two copies of my Will fair, bearing date this day, wherein I have given my sister Pall £500, my father for his own and my mother's support £2000, to my wife the rest of my estate, but to have £2500 secured to her though by deducting out of what I have given my father and my sister. To church, my wife with me. Thence home to dinner, whither came my uncle Wight, and aunt and uncle Norbury, and Mr. Shepley.

28th. Mr. Lovett and his wife came to see us. They are a pretty couple, and she a fine bred woman. They dined with us, and Browne the painter, and she plays finely on the lute. My wife and I were well pleased with her company. All the afternoon busy, and down by water to Deptford. Walked back to Redriffe and so home, being thoughtful how to answer Sir W. Coventry against tomorrow in the business of the Victualling. To bed, my wife telling me where she hath been today with my aunt Wight, and seen Mrs. Margaret Wight, and says that she is one of the beautifullest women that ever she saw in her life—the most excellent nose and mouth. They have been also to see pretty Mrs. Batelier, and conclude her to be a prettier woman than Mrs. Pierce, whom my wife led my aunt to see also this day.

29th. (King's birthday, and Restoration day.) Waked with the ringing of bells all over the town: so up before five o'clock, and to the office. At noon I did, upon a small invitation of Sir W. Pen's, go and dine with Sir W. Coventry at his office, where great good cheer, and many pleasant stories of Sir W. Coventry. After dinner to the Victualling Office; and there, beyond belief, did acquit myself very well to full content; so that, beyond expectation, I got over that second rub in this business; and if ever I fall on it again, I deserve to be undone. I with a merry heart home to my office, and thither my wife comes to me, to tell me that if I would see the handsomest woman in England, I shall come home presently; and who should it be but the pretty lady of our parish, that did heretofore sit on the other side of our church, over against our gallery, that is since married—she with Mrs. Anne Jones, one of this parish, that dances finely. And so I home, and there find Creed also come to me. So there I spent most of the afternoon with them, and indeed she is a pretty black woman—her name Mrs. Horsely.

But, Lord! to see how my nature could not refrain from the temptation, but I must invite them to go to Fox-hall, to Spring Gardens, though I had freshly received minutes of a great deal of extraordinary business. However, I could not help it, but sent them before with Creed, and I did some of my business; and so after them, and find them there, in an arbour, and had met with Mrs. Pierce and some company with her. So here I spent 20s. upon them, and were pretty merry. Among other things, had a fellow that imitated all manner of birds, and dogs, and hogs, with his voice, which was mighty pleasant. Stayed here till night: then set Mrs. Pierce in at the New Exchange; and ourselves took coach, and so set Mrs. Horsely home, and then home ourselves, but with great trouble in the streets, by bonfires, it being the King's birthday and day of Restoration. But, Lord! to see the difference how many there were on the other side, and so few on ours, the City side of the Temple, would make one wonder the difference between the temper of one sort of people and the other: and the difference among all between what they do now, and what it was the night when Monk came into the City. Such a night as that I never think to see again, nor think it can be.

30th. To White Hall where I find the Duke gone out with the King today on hunting. So by water to Westminster and so home. Word is brought me that my father and my sister are come. I to them, and am heartily glad to see them, especially my father, who, poor man, looks very well, and hath rode up this journey on horseback very well, only his eyesight and hearing is very bad. I stayed and dined with them, my wife being gone by coach to Barnet, with W. Hewer and Mercer, to meet them, and they did come Ware way. After dinner I abroad by appointment to my Lord Ashley, who, it is strange to see how prettily he dissembles his favour to Yeabsly's business, which none in the world could mistrust, only I, that am privy to his being bribed. To Deptford and back again home late, and so to supper with my father, and mighty pleasant we were, and my wife mighty kind to him and Pall. Tonight my wife tells me that Balty's wife is brought to bed, by some fall or fit, before her time, of a great child, but dead. If the woman do well, we have no reason to be sorry, because his staying a little longer without a child will be better for him and her.

31st. Saw all my family up, and my father and sister, who is a pretty good-bodied woman, and not over-thick, as I thought she

would have been, but full of freckles, and not handsome in face. And so out by water among the ships about business, and so home and to dinner with my father and sister and family, mighty pleasant all of us; and among other things, with a sparrow that our Mercer hath brought up now for three weeks, which is so tame that it flies up and down, and upon the table, and eats and pecks, and do everything so pleasantly, that we are mightily pleased with it. A public fast-day, appointed to pray for the good success of the fleet. But it is a pretty thing to consider how little a matter they make of this keeping of a fast, that it was not so much as declared time enough to be read in the churches, the last Sunday; but ordered by proclamation since: I suppose upon some sudden news of the Dutch being come out. To my accounts and settled them clear; but to my grief find myself poorer by near £20, by reason of my being forced to return £50 to Downing the smith, which he had presented me with. However, I am well contented, finding myself yet to be worth £5200. Thus ends this month, with my mind oppressed by my defect in my duty of the Victualling, which lies upon me as a burden, till I get myself into a better posture therein. As to public business: by late tidings of the French fleet being come to Rochelle, how true, though, I know not, our fleet is divided; Prince Rupert being gone with about thirty ships to the Westward, as is conceived to meet the French, to hinder their coming to join with the Dutch. My Lord Duke of Albemarle lies in the Downs with the rest, and intends presently to sail to the Gunfleet.

June 1st. Dined at aunt Wight's home hard by at Dr. Woolly's. Here dined the fair Mrs. Margaret Wight, who is a very fine lady, but the cast of her eye, got only by an ill habit, do her much wrong, and her hands are bad; but she hath the face of a noble Roman lady. My uncle and Woolly and I out into their yard, to talk about what may be done hereafter to all our profits, by prize-goods, which did give us reason to lament the loss of the opportunity of the last year, which, if we were as wise as we are now, and at the peaceable end of all those troubles that we met with, all might have been such a hit as will never come again in this age.

2d. Up, and to the office, where certain news is brought us of a letter come to the King this morning from the Duke of Albemarle, dated yesterday at eleven o'clock, as they were sailing to the Gunfleet, that they were in sight of the Dutch fleet, and were fitting

themselves to fight them; so that they are, ere this, certainly engaged: besides, several do aver that they heard the guns yesterday in the afternoon. This put us at the Board into a toss. Presently come orders for our sending away to the fleet a recruit of 200 soldiers. So I rose from the table, and to the Victualling Office, and thence upon the river among several vessels, to consider of the sending them away; and, lastly, down to Greenwich, and there appointed two yachts to be ready for them; and did order the soldiers to march to Blackwall. Having set all things in order against the next flood, I went on shore with Captain Erwin at Greenwich, and into the park, and there we could hear the guns from the fleet most plainly. Thence he and I to the King's Head and there bespoke a dish of steaks for our dinner about four o'clock. While that was doing we walked to the water-side, and there, seeing the King and Duke come down in their barge to Greenwich House, I to them, and did give them an account what I was doing. They went up to the park to hear the guns of the fleet go off. All our hopes now are that Prince Rupert with his fleet is coming back and will be with the fleet this even, a message being sent to him for that purpose on Wednesday last; and a return is come from him this morning, that he did intend to sail from St. Ellen's point about four in the afternoon on Wednesday, which was yesterday: which gives us great hopes, the wind being very fair, that he is with them this even, and the fresh going off of the guns makes us believe the same. Down to Blackwall, and there saw the soldiers, who were by this time gotten most of them drunk, shipped off. But, Lord! to see how the poor fellows kissed their wives and sweethearts in that simple manner at their going off, and shouted, and let off their guns, was strange sport. In the evening came up the river the Katharine yacht, Captain Fazeby, who hath brought over my Lord of Ailesbury,<sup>1</sup> and Sir Thomas Liddall,<sup>2</sup> with a very pretty daughter, and in a pretty travelling-dress, from Flanders, who saw the Dutch fleet on Thursday, and ran from them; but from that hour to this hath not heard one gun nor any news of any fight. Having put the soldiers on board, I home and to bed, it being very late.

3d. (Lord's day; Whitsunday.) Up, and by water to White

<sup>1</sup> Robert Bruce, second Earl of Elgin and first Earl of Ailesbury, who died in 1685.

<sup>2</sup> Of Ravensworth Castle, Durham, succeeded his grandfather, the first baronet, 1650. He had three daughters. *Ob.* 1697.

Hall, and there met with Mr. Coventry, who tells me the only news from the fleet is brought by Captain Elliott, of the Portland, which, by being run on board by the Guernsey, was disabled from staying abroad; so is come in to Aldbrough. That he saw one of the Dutch great ships blown up, and three on fire. That they begun to fight on Friday; and, at his coming into port, he could make another ship of the King's coming in, which he judged to be the Rupert: that he knows of no other hurt to our ships. With this good news, I home by water again, and to church in the sermon-time, and with great joy told it my fellows in the pew. After dinner my father, wife, sister, and Mercer by water to Woolwich, while I walked by land and saw the Exchange as full of people, and hath been all this noon, as of any other day, only for news. To White Hall, and there met with this bad news further, that the Prince came to Dover but at ten o'clock last night, and there heard nothing of a fight; so that we are defeated of all our hopes of his help to the fleet. It is also reported by some victuallers, that the Duke of Albemarle and Holmes their flags were shot down, and both fain to come to anchor to renew their rigging and sails. A letter is also come this afternoon from Harman in the Henry; which is, she was taken by Elliott for the Rupert; that, being fallen into the body of the Dutch fleet, he made his way through them, was set on by three fire-ships, one after another, got two of them off, and disabled the third; was set on fire himself; upon which many of his men leaped into the sea and perished, among others, the parson first. Have lost above 100 men, and a good many women (God knows what is become of Balty), and at last quenched his own fire, and got to Aldbrough; being, as all say, the greatest hazard that ever any ship escaped, and so bravely managed by him. The mast of the third fire-ship fell into their ship on fire, and hurt Harman's leg, which makes him lame now, but not dangerous. I to Sir G. Carteret, who told me there hath been great bad management in all this: that the King's orders that went on Friday for calling back the Prince were sent but by the ordinary post on Wednesday, and came to the Prince his hands but on Friday; and then, instead of sailing presently, he stays till four in the evening. And that which is worst of all, the Hampshire, laden with merchants' money, come from the Straits, set out with or but just before the fleet, and was in the Downs by five in the clock yesterday morning; and the Prince with his fleet came to Dover but at ten of the clock at night. This is hard to answer, if it be true. This

puts great astonishment into the King and Duke and Court, everybody being out of countenance. Home by the 'Change, which is full of people still, and all talk highly of the failure of the Prince in not making more haste after his instructions did come, and of our managements here in not giving it sooner, and with more care, and oftener.

4th. To White Hall, where, when we come, we find the Duke at St. James's, whither he is lately gone to lodge. So, walking through the Park, we saw hundreds of people listening at the Gravel-pits, and to and again in the Park, to hear the guns. I saw a letter, dated last night, from Stroud, Governor of Dover Castle, which says that the Prince come thither the night before with his fleet; but that for the guns which we writ that we heard, it is only a mistake for thunder; and, so far as to yesterday, it is a miraculous thing that we all, Friday and Saturday and yesterday, did hear everywhere most plainly the guns go off, and yet at Deal and Dover, to last night, they did not hear one word of a fight, nor think they heard one gun. This, added to what I have set down before, the other day, about the Katharine, makes room for a great dispute in philosophy, how we should hear it and they not, the same wind that brought it to us being the same that should bring it to them: but so it is. Major Halsey, however, who was sent down on purpose to hear the news, did bring news this morning that he did see the Prince and his fleet at nine of the clock yesterday morning, four or five leagues to sea behind the Goodwin, so that, by the hearing of the guns this morning, we conclude he is come to the fleet. After waiting upon the Duke Sir W. Pen (who was commanded to go to-night, by water down to Harwich, to dispatch away all the ships he can) and I home, drinking two bottles of Cock ale in the street in his new fine coach: where no sooner come, but news is brought me of a couple of men come to speak with me from the fleet; so I down, and who should it be but Mr. Daniel, all muffled up, and his face as black as the chimney, and covered with dirt, pitch, and tar and powder, and muffled with dirty clouts, and his right eye stopped with oakum. He is come last night, at five o'clock, from the fleet, with a comrade of his that hath endangered another eye. They were set on shore at Harwich this morning, and at two o'clock, in a ketch, with about twenty more wounded men from the Royal Charles. They being able to ride, took post about three this morning, and were here between eleven and twelve. I went presently into the coach with them, and carried



them to Somerset House stairs, and there took water (all the world gazing upon us and concluding it to be news from the fleet, and everybody's face appeared expecting of news) to the privy stairs, and left them at Mr. Coventry's lodging, he, though, not being there. And so I into the Park to the King, and told him my Lord General was well the last night at five o'clock, and the Prince come with his fleet, and joined with his about seven. The King was mightily pleased with this news, and so took me by the hand and talked a little of it, I giving him the best account I could; and then he bid me to fetch the two seamen to him, he walking into the house. So I went and fetched the seamen into the Vane-room to him, and there he heard the whole account.

## THE FIGHT

How we found the Dutch fleet at anchor on Friday, half seas over, between Dunkirk and Ostend, and made them let slip their anchors. They about ninety, and we less than sixty. We fought them, and put them to the run, till they met with about sixteen sail of fresh ships, and so bore up again. The fight continued till night, and then again the next morning, from five till seven at night. And so, too, yesterday morning they begun again, and continued till about four o'clock, they chasing us for the most part of Saturday, and yesterday we flying from them. The Duke himself, and then those people who were put into the ketch, by and by spied the Prince's fleet coming, upon which De Ruyter called a little council, being in chase at this time of us, and there-upon their fleet divided into two squadrons, forty in one, and about thirty in the other (the fleet being at first about ninety, but, by one accident or other, supposed to be lessened to about seventy); the bigger to follow the Duke, the less to meet the Prince. But the Prince came up with the General's fleet, and the Dutch came together again, and bore towards their own coast, and we with them; and now what the consequence of this day will be, we know not. The Duke was forced to come to anchor on Friday, having lost his sails and rigging. No particular person spoken of to be hurt but Sir W. Clerke, who hath lost his leg, and bore it bravely. The Duke himself had a little hurt in his thigh, but signified little. The King did pull out of his pocket about twenty pieces in gold, and did give it Daniel for himself and his companion; and so parted, mightily pleased with the account he did give him of the

fight, and the success it ended with, of the Prince's coming, though it seems the Duke did give way again and again. The King did give order for care to be had of Mr. Daniel and his companion; and so we parted from him, and then met the Duke of York, and gave him the same account: and so broke up, and I left them going to the surgeon's. So home, about four o'clock, to dinner, and was followed by several people to be told the news, and good news it is. God send we may hear a good issue of this day's business! To the Crown, behind the 'Change, and there supped at the club with my Lord Brouncker, Sir G. Ent, and others of Gresham College; and all our discourse is of this fight at sea, and all are doubtful of the success, and conclude all had been lost if the Prince had not come in, they having chased us the greatest part of Saturday and Sunday. Thence with my Lord Brouncker and Creed by coach to White Hall, where fresh letters are come from Harwich, where the Gloucester, Captain Clerke, is come in, and says that on Sunday night, upon the coming in of the Prince, the Duke did fly; but all this day they have been fighting; therefore they did face again, to be sure. Captain Bacon of the Bristol is killed. They cry up Jennings of the Ruby, and Saunders of the Sweepstakes. They condemn mightily Sir Thomas Teddiman for a coward, but with what reason time must show.

5th. At noon, though I should have dined with my Lord Mayor<sup>1</sup> and Aldermen at an entertainment of Commissioner Taylor's, yet, it being a time of expectation of the success of the fleet, I did not go, but dined at home; and after dinner by water down to Deptford and Woolwich and thence down to Long Reach, calling on all the ships in the way, seeing their condition for sailing and what they want. No manner of news this day but of the Rainbow's being put in from the fleet, maimed as the other ships are.

6th. Up betimes, and vexed with my people for having a key taken out of the chamber doors and nobody knew where it was; as also with my boy for not being ready as soon as I, though I called him, whereupon I boxed him soundly and then to my business at the office. By water to St. James's, it being a monthly fast-day for the plague. There we all met, and did our business as usual with the Duke. Thence after the Duke into the Park, walking through to White Hall, and there everybody listening for guns, but none heard, no guns nor no news of our fleet. By and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Bludworth.

by walking a little further, Sir Philip Frowde<sup>1</sup> did meet the Duke with an express to Sir W. Coventry, who was by, from Captain Taylor, the Storekeeper at Harwich, being the narration of Captain Hayward of the Dunkirk; who gives a very serious account, how upon Monday the two fleets fought all day, till seven at night, and then the whole fleet of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight, and never looked back again. That Sir Christopher Mings is wounded in the leg; that the General is well. That it is conceived reasonably, that of all the Dutch fleet, which, with what recruits they had, come to one hundred sail, there is not above fifty got home; and of them, few, if any, of their flags. And that little Captain Bell, in one of the fire-ships, did at the end of the day fire a ship of 70 guns. We were all so overtaken with this good news, that the Duke ran with it to the King, who was gone to chapel, and there all the Court was in a hubbub, being rejoiced over head and ears in this good news. Away I go by coach to the New Exchange, and there did spread this good news a little, though I find it had broke out before. And so home to our own church, it being the common fast-day, and it was just before sermon; but, Lord! how all the people in the church stared upon me to see me whisper to Sir John Minnes and my Lady Pen. Anon I saw people stirring and whispering below, and by and by comes up the sexton from my Lady Ford to tell me the news, which I had brought, being now sent into the church by Sir W. Batten in writing, and handed from pew to pew. But that which pleased me as much as the news, was to have the fair Mrs. Middleton at our church, who indeed is a very beautiful lady. Home, and found my wife at dinner, and after dinner my father and she out to Hales's, where my father is to begin to sit today for his picture, which I have a desire to have. At home, drawing up my vows for the rest of the year, to Christmas. But, Lord! to see in what a condition of happiness I am, if I would but keep myself so; but my love of pleasure is such, that my very soul is angry with itself for its vanity in so doing. To Lovett's, and there, to my trouble, saw plainly that my project of varnished books will not take, it not keeping the colour, nor being able to take polishing upon a single paper. Home, and my father and wife not coming in, I proceeded with my coach to take a little air as far as Bow all alone, and there turned back; but before I got home the bonfires were lighted all the town

<sup>1</sup> A loyal officer in the army of Charles I, afterwards secretary to Anne Hyde, Duchess of York.

over, and I going through Crutched Friars, seeing Mercer at her mother's gate, stopped, and 'light, and into her mother's, the first time I ever was there, and find all my people, father and all, at a very fine supper at W. Hewer's lodging, very neatly, and to my great pleasure. After supper into his chamber, which is mighty fine, with pictures and everything else, very curious. Thence to the gate, with the women all about me, and Mrs. Mercer's son had provided a great many serpents, and so I made the women all fire some serpents. By and by comes in our fair neighbour, Mrs. Turner, and two neighbour's daughters, Mrs. Tite—the eldest of which, a long red-nosed silly jade; the younger, a pretty black girl, and the merriest sprightly jade that ever I saw. With them idled away the whole night, till twelve at night, at the bonfire in the streets. Some of the people thereabouts going about with muskets, and did give me two or three volleys of their muskets, I giving them a crown to drink; and so home. Mightily pleased with this happy day's news, and the more, because confirmed by Sir Daniel Harvey,<sup>1</sup> who was in the whole fight with the General, and tells me that there appear but thirty-six in all of the Dutch fleet left at the end of the voyage when they run home. The joy of the City was this night exceeding great.

7th. Up betimes, and to my office about business, Sir W. Coventry having sent me word that he is gone down to the fleet to see how matters stand, and to be back again speedily; and with the same expectation of congratulating ourselves with the victory that I had yesterday. But my Lord Brouncker and Sir T. H.,<sup>2</sup> that come from Court, tell me the contrary news, which astonishes me: that is to say, that we are beaten, lost many ships and good commanders; have not taken one ship of the enemy's; and so can only report ourselves a victory; nor is it certain that we were left masters of the field. But, above all, that the Prince run on shore upon the Galloper, and there stuck; was endeavoured to be fetched off by the Dutch, but could not; and so they burned her; and Sir G. Ascue is taken prisoner, and carried into Holland. This news do much trouble me, and the thoughts of the ill consequences of it, and the pride and presumption that brought us to it. At noon to the 'Change, and there find the discourse of town, and their countenances much changed; but yet not very plain. By and by

<sup>1</sup> Ranger of Richmond Park. He was brother-in-law to the Edward Montagu killed at Bergen.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Harvey.

by walking a little further, Sir Philip Frowde<sup>1</sup> did meet the Duke with an express to Sir W. Coventry, who was by, from Captain Taylor, the Storekeeper at Harwich, being the narration of Captain Hayward of the Dunkirk; who gives a very serious account, how upon Monday the two fleets fought all day, till seven at night, and then the whole fleet of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight, and never looked back again. That Sir Christopher Mings is wounded in the leg; that the General is well. That it is conceived reasonably, that of all the Dutch fleet, which, with what recruits they had, come to one hundred sail, there is not above fifty got home; and of them, few, if any, of their flags. And that little Captain Bell, in one of the fire-ships, did at the end of the day fire a ship of 70 guns. We were all so overtaken with this good news, that the Duke ran with it to the King, who was gone to chapel, and there all the Court was in a hubbub, being rejoiced over head and ears in this good news. Away I go by coach to the New Exchange, and there did spread this good news a little, though I find it had broke out before. And so home to our own church, it being the common fast-day, and it was just before sermon; but, Lord! how all the people in the church stared upon me to see me whisper to Sir John Minnes and my Lady Pen. Anon I saw people stirring and whispering below, and by and by comes up the sexton from my Lady Ford to tell me the news, which I had brought, being now sent into the church by Sir W. Batten in writing, and handed from pew to pew. But that which pleased me as much as the news, was to have the fair Mrs. Middleton at our church, who indeed is a very beautiful lady. Home, and found my wife at dinner, and after dinner my father and she out to Hales's, where my father is to begin to sit today for his picture, which I have a desire to have. At home, drawing up my vows for the rest of the year, to Christmas. But, Lord! to see in what a condition of happiness I am, if I would but keep myself so; but my love of pleasure is such, that my very soul is angry with itself for its vanity in so doing. To Lovett's, and there, to my trouble, saw plainly that my project of varnished books will not take, it not keeping the colour, nor being able to take polishing upon a single paper. Home, and my father and wife not coming in, I proceeded with my coach to take a little air as far as Bow all alone, and there turned back; but before I got home the bonfires were lighted all the town

<sup>1</sup> A loyal officer in the army of Charles I, afterwards secretary to Anne Hyde, Duchess of York.

Rupert. Balty tells me the case of the Henry; and it was, indeed, most extraordinary sad and desperate. After dinner Balty and I to my office, and there talked a great deal of this fight; and I am mightily pleased in him, and have great content in, and hopes of, his doing well. Thence out to White Hall to a Committee for Tangier, but it met not. But, Lord! to see how melancholy the Court is under the thoughts of this last overthrow, for so it is, instead of a victory, so much and so unreasonably expected. Down the river as low as Sir W. Warren's, with whom I did motion a business that may be of profit to me, about buying some lighters to send down to the fleet, wherein he will assist me. We hear the Swiftsure, Sir W. Berkeley, is come in safe to the Nore, after her being absent ever since the beginning of the fight, wherein she did not appear at all from beginning to end.

9th. The Court is divided about the Swiftsure and the Essex's being safe; and wagers and odds laid on both sides. Sir W. Coventry is come to town; so I to his chamber. But I do not hear that he is at all pleased or satisfied with the late fight; but he tells me more news of our suffering, by the death of one or two Captains, more than I knew before. But he do give over the thoughts of the safety of the Swiftsure or Essex.

10th. (Lord's day.) Down the river to Deptford, and did a good deal of business. Home to dinner, where my cousin Joyces, both of them, they and their wives and little Will came by invitation; but, Lord! how sick I was of W. Joyce's company, both the impertinencies of it and his ill manners before me at my table to his wife, which I could hardly forbear taking notice of; but being at my table and for his wife's sake, I did, though I will prevent his giving me the like occasion at my house, I will warrant him. By water to White Hall, and spent all the afternoon in the Gallery to speak with Sir W. Coventry. Walking here I met with Pierce, the surgeon, who is lately come from the fleet, and tells me that all the commanders, officers, and even the common seamen, do condemn every part of the late conduct of the Duke of Albemarle: both in his fighting at all, in his manner of fighting, running among them in his retreat, and running the ships on ground; so as nothing can be worse spoken of. That Holmes, Spragg, and Smith do all the business, and the old and wiser commanders nothing: so as Sir Thomas Teddiman, whom the King and all the world speak well of, is mightily discontented, as being wholly slighted. He says we lost more after the Prince came

than before, too. The Prince was so maimed, as to be forced to be towed home. He says all the fleet confess their being chased home by the Dutch; and yet the body of the Dutch that did it was not above forty sail at most; and yet this put us into the fright, as to bring all our ships on ground. He says, however, that the Duke of Albemarle is as high almost as ever, and pleases himself to think that he hath given the Dutch their bellies full, without sense of what he hath lost us; and talks how he knows now the way to beat them. But he says that even Smith himself, one of his creatures, did himself condemn the late conduct from the beginning to the end. He tells me, further, how the Duke of York is wholly given up to his new mistress, my Lady Denham,<sup>1</sup> going at noonday with all his gentlemen with him to visit her in Scotland Yard; she declaring she will not be his mistress, as Mrs. Price,<sup>2</sup> to go up and down the Privy-stairs, but will be owned publicly; and so she is. Mr. Brouncker,<sup>3</sup> it seems, was the pimp to bring it about, and my Lady Castlemaine, who designs thereby to fortify herself by the Duke, there being a falling-out the other day between the King and her. On this occasion, the Queen, in ordinary talk before the ladies in her drawing-room, did say to my Lady Castlemaine that she feared the King did take cold by staying so late abroad at her house. She answered, before them all, that he did not stay so late abroad with her, for he went betimes thence (though he do not before one, two, or three in the morning), but must stay somewhere else. The King then coming in, and overhearing, did whisper in the ear aside, and told her she was a bold, impertinent woman, and bid her to be gone out of the Court, and not come again till he sent for her; which she did presently, and went to a lodging in the Pall Mall, and kept there two or three days, and then sent to the King to know whether she might send for her things away out of her house. The King sent to her, she must first come and view them: and so she came, and the King went to her, and all friends again. He tells me she did, in her anger, say she would be even with the King, and print his letters to her; so, putting all together, we are, and are like to be, in a sad condition. We are endeavouring to raise money by borrowing it of the City;

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Brook, married to Sir John Denham, 25th May 1665.

<sup>2</sup> The maid of honour.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Brouncker, younger brother to Lord Brouncker, whom he succeeded. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and a famous chess-player.

but I do not think the City will lend a farthing. Sir G. Carteret and I walked an hour in the church-yard, under Henry the Seventh's Chapel, he being lately come from the fleet; and tells me, as I hear from everybody else, that the management in the late fight was bad, from top to bottom. That several said that this would not have been if my Lord Sandwich had had the ordering of it. Nay, he tells me that certainly, had my Lord Sandwich had the misfortune to have done as they have done, the King could not have saved him. There is, too, nothing but discontent among the officers; and all the old, experienced men are slighted. He tells me, to my question, but as a great secret, that the dividing of the fleet did proceed first from a proposition from the fleet, though agreed to hence; but he confesses it arose from want of due intelligence. He do, however, call the fleet's retreat on Sunday a very honourable one, and that the Duke of Albemarle did do well in it, and would have been well if he had done it sooner, rather than venture the loss of the fleet and crown, as he must have done, if the Prince had not come. He was surprised when I told him I heard that the King did intend to borrow some money of the City, and would know who had spoke of it to me: I told him Sir Ellis Layton this afternoon. He says it is a dangerous discourse, for that the City certainly will not be invited to do it; and then, for the King to ask it and be denied, will be the beginning of our sorrow. He seems to fear we shall all fall to pieces among ourselves. This evening we hear that Sir Christopher Mings is dead of his late wounds; and Sir W. Coventry did commend him to me in a most extraordinary manner. But this day, after three days' trial in vain, and the hazard of the spoiling of the ship in lying till next spring, besides the disgrace of it, news is brought that the Loyal London is launched at Deptford.

11th. To Sir W. Warren's, and having done with him I took boat again (being mightily struck with a woman in a hat, a seaman's wife, that stood on the quay) and home. After dinner I, with my Lady Pen and her daughter, to see Harman, whom we find lame in bed. His bones of his ankle are broke, but he hopes to do well soon; and a fine person, by his discourse, he seems to be: and he did plainly tell me that at the Council of War before the fight, it was against his reason to begin the fight then, and the reasons of most sober men there, the wind being such, and we to windward, that they could not use their lower tier of guns, which was a sad thing for us to have the honour and weal of the nation ventured



so foolishly. Late comes Sir J. Bankes to see me, who tells me that, coming up from Rochester, he overtook three or four hundred seamen; and he believes every day they come flocking from the fleet in like numbers; which is a sad neglect there, when it will be impossible to get others; and we have little reason to think these will return presently again.

12th. To White Hall. I find the Ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just, for all the world, like mine; and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with periwigs and with hats; so that, only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight did not please me. It was Mrs. Wells and another fine lady that I saw thus.

13th. Sir H. Cholmley tells me there are great jars between the Duke of York and the Duke of Albemarle, about the latter's turning out one or two of the commanders put in by the Duke of York. Among others, Captain du Tell, a Frenchman, put in by the Duke of York, and mightily defended by him; and is therein led by M. Blanquefort, that, it seems, hath the same command over the Duke of York as Sir W. Coventry hath; which raises ill blood between them. And I do, in several little things, observe that Sir W. Coventry hath of late, by the by, reflected on the Duke of Albemarle and his Captains, particularly in that of old Teddyman, who did deserve to be turned out this fight, and was so; but I heard Sir W. Coventry say that the Duke of Albemarle put in one as bad as he is in his room, and one that did as little. With Balty to Hales's by coach. Here I find my father's picture begun, and so much to my content, that it joys my very heart to think that I should have his picture so well done; who, besides that he is my father, and a man that loves me, and hath ever done so, is also, at this day, one of the most careful and innocent men in the world. Thence with mighty content homeward, and in my way at the Stocks did buy a couple of lobsters, and so home to dinner, where I find my wife and father had dined. So Balty and I alone to dinner, and in the middle of my grace, praying for a blessing upon 'these His good creatures,' my mind fell upon my lobsters: upon which I cried, 'Odd zooks!' and Balty looked upon me like a man at a loss what I meant, thinking at first that I meant only that I had said the grace after meat. But then I cried, 'What is become of my lobsters?' Whereupon he run out of doors to overtake the

coach, but could not: and mighty merry at dinner to think of my surprise. Invited to Sir Christopher Mings's funeral, but find them gone to church. However, I into the church, which is a fair, large church, and a great chapel, and there heard the service, and staved till they buried him, and then out; and there met with Sir W. Coventry (who was there out of great generosity, and no person of quality there but he), and went with him into his coach; and, being in it with him, there happened this extraordinary case—one of the most romantic that ever I heard of in my life, and could not have believed, but that I did see it; which was this: About a dozen able, lusty, proper men came to the coach-side with tears in their eyes, and one of them that spoke for the rest begun, and said to Sir W. Coventry, 'We are here a dozen of us, that have long known and loved and served our dead commander, Sir Christopher Mings, and have now done the last office of laying him in the ground. We would be glad we had any other to offer after him, and in revenge of him. All we have is our lives; if you will please to get His Royal Highness to give us a fire-ship among us all, here are a dozen of us, out of all which choose you one to be commander; and the rest of us, whoever he is, will serve him; and, if possible, do that that shall show our memory of our dead commander, and our revenge.' Sir W. Coventry was herewith much moved, as well as I, who could hardly abstain from weeping, and took their names, and so parted; telling me that he would move his Royal Highness as in a thing very extraordinary, which was done. So we parted. The truth is, Sir Christopher Mings was a very stout man, and a man of great parts, and most excellent tongue among ordinary men; and, as Sir W. Coventry says, could have been the most useful man at such a pinch of time as this. He was come into great renown here at home, and more abroad, in the West Indies. He had brought his family into a way of being great; but, dying at this time, his memory and name (his father being always and at this day a shoemaker, and his mother a hoy-man's daughter; of which he was used frequently to boast), will be quite forgot in a few months as if he had never been, nor any of his name be the better by it; he having not had time to will any estate, but is dead poor, rather than rich. So we left the church and crowd. Walked to Mrs. Bagwell's, and went into her house; but I was not a little fearful of what she told me but now, which is, that her servant was dead of the plague, and that she had new-whitened the house all below stairs, but that above stairs they are

not so fit for me to go up to, they being not so. So I parted thence, with a very good will, but very civilly, and away to the water-side, and sent for a pint of sack, and drank what I would, and gave the waterman the rest, and so adieu. Home about twelve at night. In my way home I called on a fisherman and bought three eels which cost me 3s.

14th. With my wife and father to Hales's, and there looked only on my father's picture, which is mighty like; and so away to White Hall to a Committee for Tangier, where the Duke of York was, and Sir W. Coventry, and a very full committee; and, instead of having a very prejudiced meeting, they did, though inclined against Yeabsly, yield to the greatest part of his account, so as to allow of his demands to the value of £7000 and more, and only give time for him to make good his pretence to the rest; which was mighty joy to me: and so we rose up. But I must observe the force of money, which did make my Lord Ashley to argue and behave himself in the business with the greatest friendship, and yet with all the discretion imaginable; and it will be a business of admonition and instruction to me concerning him, and other men, too, for aught I know, as long as I live.

15th. Mr. Bland presented me yesterday with a very fine African mat, to lay upon the ground under a bed of state, being the first fruits of our peace with Guyland. To the Exchequer, but could not persuade the block-headed fellows to do what I desire, of breaking my great tallies into less (notwithstanding my Lord Treasurer's order), which vexed me so much that I would not bestow more time and trouble among a company of dunces. Creed came and dined with me; but, Lord! to hear how he pleases himself in behalf of my Lord Sandwich, in the miscarriage of the Duke of Albemarle. He being gone, I to my chamber to set my journal right, and so to settle my Tangier accounts, which I did in very good order; and then in the evening comes Mr. Yeabsly to reckon with me, which I did also, and have above £200 profit therein to myself, which is a great blessing, the God of heaven make me thankful for it. That being done, and my eyes beginning to be sore with over-much writing, I to supper and to bed.

16th. To Woolwich and Deptford, all the way down and up reading of 'The Mayor of Quinborough,'<sup>1</sup> a simple play. At Deptford, while I am there, comes Mr. Williamson, Sir Arthur

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Thomas Middleton.

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when his degree is over I will send up for him hither, and if he be good for anything doubt not to get him preferment. So to Islington, and then our tour by Hackney home. To bed being very weary.

18th. To the office, and so to Lombard Street, to borrow a little money upon a tally, but cannot. To my Lord Bellassis, by invitation, and there dined with him, and his lady and daughter; and at dinner there played to us a young boy, lately come from France, where he had been learning a year or two, on the violin, and plays finely. But it was pretty to see how passionately my Lord's daughter loves music, the most that ever I saw creature in my life. Sir W. Coventry is returned this night from the fleet, he being the activest man in the world, and we all, myself particularly, more afraid of him than of the King, or his service, for aught I see; God forgive us! This day the great news is come of the French their taking the island of St. Christopher's from us; and it is to be feared they have done the like of all those islands thereabouts: this makes the City mad.

19th. I to Sir G. Carteret's by appointment, where, I perceive by him, the King is going to borrow some money of the City; but I fear it will do no good, but hurt. He tells me how the General<sup>1</sup> is displeased, and there have been some high words between the General and Sir W. Coventry. And it may be so; for I do not find Sir W. Coventry so highly commending the Duke as he used to be, but letting fall, now and then, some little jerks: as this day, speaking of news from Holland, he says, 'I find their victory begins to shrink there, as well as ours here.' Here I met with Captain Cocke, and he tells me that the first thing the Prince said to the King, upon his coming, was complaining of the Commissioners of the Navy: that they could have been abroad in three or four days but for us; that we do not take care of them: which I am troubled at, and do fear may in violence break out upon this office some time or other; for we shall not be able to carry on the business. So home to supper with beans and bacon and to bed.

20th. Up, but in some pain of the colic. I have of late taken too much cold by washing my feet, and going in a thin silk waistcoat, without any other coat over it, and open-breasted. I did this morning give my father, being to go away tomorrow, some money to buy him a horse, and for other things to himself and my mother and sister, among them £20, which the poor man takes

<sup>1</sup> Duke of Albemarle.

with infinite kindness, and I do not think I can bestow it better. To Faithorne, the picture-seller's, and there chose two or three good cuts to try to varnish, and so to Hales's to see my father's picture which is now near finished and is very good; and so away home as fast as I could. But to spite me, in Cheapside I met Mrs. Williams in a coach, and she called me; so I must needs 'light and go along with her and poor Knipp (who is so big as she can tumble and looks every day to lie down) as far as Paternoster Row, which I did, and then stayed in Bennet's shop and was fearful lest the people of the shop, knowing me, should ask after my father and give Mrs. Williams any knowledge of me to my disgrace. At home all the evening doing business, and at night in the garden singing, and then home to supper and to bed.

21st. Up, and at the office all the morning; where, by several circumstances, I find Sir W. Coventry and the Duke of Albemarle do not agree as they used to do; Sir W. Coventry commending Aylett, in some reproach to the Duke, whom the Duke hath put out for want of courage; and found fault with Steward, whom the Duke keeps in, though as much in fault as any commander in the fleet. At noon home to dinner—my father, sister, and wife dining at Sarah Giles's, poor woman! where I should have been, but my pride would not suffer me. To Mr. Debasty's, a fine house and a great many fine ladies. Here I saw, in a gold frame, a picture of a fluter playing on his flute, which, for a good while, I took for painting, but at last observed it was a piece of tapestry, and is the finest that ever I saw in my life for figures and good natural colours, and a very fine thing it is indeed. Sir George Smith tells me that this day my Lord Chancellor and some of the Court have been with the City, and that the City have voted to lend the King £100,000; which, if soon paid, as he says he believes it will, will be a greater service than I did ever expect at this time from the City. With my wife in the garden, and then upon our leads singing in the evening.

22d. Up, and before I went out Mr. Peter Barr sent me a tierce of claret, which is very welcome. All day upon my Tangier accounts; my father, wife, and sister, late abroad upon the water.

23d. My father and sister very betimes took their leave; and my wife, with all possible kindness, went with them to the coach, I being mightily pleased with their company thus long, and my father with his being here. And it rejoices my heart that I am in a condition to do anything to comfort him, he is such innocent

company. They being gone, I to my papers, but vexed at what I heard but a little of this morning, before my wife went out, that Mercer and she fell out last night, and that the girl is gone home to her mother's for altogether. This troubles me, though perhaps it may be an ease to me of so much charge. But I love the girl, and another we must be forced to keep, I do foresee, and then shall be sorry to part with her. At the office all the morning, much disquiet in my mind, in the middle of my business, about this girl. Home at noon to dinner, and what with the going away of my father today and the loss of Mercer, I after dinner went up to my chamber, and there could have cried to myself, had not people come to me about business. To Tower Wharf, but could get no watermen, they being now so scarce by reason of the great press; so to the Custom House, and there, with great threats, got a couple to ferry me down to Deptford—all the way reading 'Pompey the Great,'<sup>1</sup> a play translated from the French by several noble persons, among others, my Lord Buckhurst, that to me is but a mean play, and the words and sense not very extraordinary. From Deptford I walked to Redriffe, and in my way was overtaken by Bagwell, lately come from sea in the Providence, who did give me an account of several particulars in the late fight, and how his ship was deserted basely by the York, Captain Swanley, commander. Vexed this night to find none of the officers in the yard at seven o'clock, nor anybody concerned as if it were a Dutch war.

24th. (Sunday, Midsummer day.) To White Hall. There I hear that Sir Francis Prujean is dead, after being married to a widow about a year or thereabouts. He died very rich, and had, for the last year, lived very handsomely—his lady bringing him to it. He was no great painstaker in person, yet died very rich; and, as Dr. Clerke says, was of a very great judgment, but hath writ nothing to leave his name to posterity. In the gallery, among others, met with Major Halsey, a great creature of the Duke of Albemarle's; who tells me that the Duke, by name, hath said that he expected to have the work here up in the River done, having left Sir W. Batten and Mr. Phipps there. He says that the Duke of Albemarle do say that this is a victory we have had, having, as he was sure, killed them 8000 men, and sunk about fourteen of their ships; but nothing like this appears true. He laves much of the little success we have had, however, upon the fleet's being divided

<sup>1</sup> Corneille's play, one act of which had been translated by Edmund Waller, and the rest by Lord Buckhurst, Sir C. Sedley, and Mr. Godolphin.

with infinite kindness, and I do not think I can bestow it better. To Faithorne, the picture-seller's, and there chose two or three good cuts to try to varnish, and so to Hales's to see my father's picture which is now near finished and is very good; and so away home as fast as I could. But to spite me, in Cheapside I met Mrs. Williams in a coach, and she called me; so I must needs 'light and go along with her and poor Knipp (who is so big as she can tumble and looks every day to lie down) as far as Paternoster Row, which I did, and then stayed in Bennet's shop and was fearful lest the people of the shop, knowing me, should ask after my father and give Mrs. Williams any knowledge of me to my disgrace. At home all the evening doing business, and at night in the garden singing, and then home to supper and to bed.

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sending them by the post express, and not by gentlemen on purpose, he made a sport of it, and said, 'I knew of none to send it with but would at least have lost more time in fitting themselves out, than any diligence of theirs beyond that of the ordinary post would have recovered.' I told him that this was not so much the town talk, as the reason of dividing the fleet. To this he told me he ought not to say much; but did assure me, in general, that the proposition did first come from the fleet; and the resolution not being prosecuted with orders so soon as the General thought fit, the General did send Sir Edward Spragg up on purpose for them; and that there was nothing in the whole business which was not done with the full consent and advice of the Duke of Albemarle. But he did add, as the Catholics call *le secret de la Messe*, that Sir Edward Spragg—who had, even in Sir Christopher Mings's time, put in to be the great favourite of the Prince; but much more now had a mind to be the great man with him, and to that end had a mind to have the Prince at a distance from the Duke of Albemarle, that they might be doing something alone—did, as he believed, put on this business of dividing the fleet, and that thence it came. He tells me, as to the business of intelligence, the want whereof the world did complain much of, that for that it was not his business; and, as he was, therefore, to have no share in the blame, so he would not meddle to lay it anywhere else. That De Ruyter was ordered by the States not to make it his business to come into much danger, but to preserve himself, as much as was fit, out of harm's way, to be able to direct the fleet. He do, I perceive, with some violence, forbear saying anything to the reproach of the Duke of Albemarle; but, contrarily, speaks much of his courage. But I do as plainly see that he do not like the Duke of Albemarle's proceedings; but, contrarily, is displeased therewith. And he do plainly diminish the commanders put in by the Duke, and do lessen the miscarriages of any that have been removed by him. He concurs with me, that the next bout will be a fatal one to one side or other; because, if we be beaten, we shall not be able to set out our fleet again. He do confess with me that the hearts of our seamen are much saddened; and for that reason, among others, wishes Sir Christopher Mings was alive, who might inspire courage and spirit into them. Speaking of Holmes, how great a man he is, and that he do for the present, and hath done all the voyage, kept himself in good order and within bounds; but, says he, a cat will be a cat still, and, some time or other, out his humours must break

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away, and another (Lucy) come, very ugly and plain, but may be a good servant for all that.

27th. To Sir W. Coventry's chamber, where I saw his father my Lord Coventry's picture hung up, done by Stone, who then brought it home. It is a good picture, drawn in his judge's robes, and the great seal by him. And, while it was hanging up, 'This,' says Sir W. Coventry, merrily, 'is the use we make of our fathers.' But what I observed most from the discourse was this of Sir W. Coventry, that he do look upon ourselves in a desperate condition. The issue of all standing upon this one point, that, by the next fight, if we beat, the Dutch will certainly be content to take eggs for their money (that was his expression); or, if we be beaten, we must be contented to make peace, and glad if we can have it, without paying too dear for it. And withal we do rely wholly upon the Parliament's giving us more money the next sitting, or else we are undone. To Mr. Hales's, to pay for my father's picture, which cost me £10 the picture, and 25s. the frame. Thence to Lovett's, who has now done something towards the varnishing of single paper for the making of books, which will do, I think, pretty well. He did also carry me to a Knight's chamber in Gray's Inn, where there is a frame of his making of counterfeit tortoiseshell which indeed is most excellently done. I did this afternoon visit my Lord Bellassis, who professes all imaginable satisfaction in me. My Lord is going down to his garrison to Hull, by the King's command, to put it in order for fear of an invasion: which course, I perceive, is taken upon the sea-coasts round; for we have a real apprehension of the King of France's invading us.

28th. The Dutch are now known to be out, and we may expect them every hour upon our coast. But our fleet is in pretty good readiness for them.

29th. To the office, where I met with a letter from Dover, which tells me, and it did come by express, that news is brought over by a gentleman from Calais, that the Dutch fleet, 130 sail, are come upon the French coast; and that the country is bringing in pick-axes and shovels and wheel-barrows into Calais; that there are 6000 men armed with head, back, and breast, Frenchmen, ready to go on board the Dutch fleet, and will be followed by 12,000 more. That they pretend they are to come to Dover; and that thereupon the Governor of Dover Castle is getting the victualler's provision out of the town into the Castle to secure it. But I do think this is a ridiculous conceit; but a little time will show.

*July 1666*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

30th. Mightily troubled all this morning with going to my Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bludworth, a silly man, I think, and other places, about getting shipped some men that they have these two last nights pressed in the City out of the houses: the persons wholly unfit for sea, and many of them people of very good fashion, which is a shame to think of, and carried to Bridewell they are, yet without being impressed with money legally as they ought to be. But to see how the King's business is done; my Lord Mayor himself did scruple, at this time of extremity, to do this thing, because he had not money to pay the press-money to the men. He told me so himself. Nor to take up boats to carry them down through bridge to the ships I have prepared to carry them down in: insomuch that I was forced to promise to be his paymaster, and he did send his City Remembrancer afterwards to the office, and at the table, in the face of the officers, I did out of my own purse disburse £15 to pay for their pressing and diet last night and this morning; which is a thing worth record of my Lord Mayor. Busy about this all the morning, and about the getting off men pressed by our officers of the fleet into the service; even our own men that are at the office, and the boats that carry us. So that it is now become impossible to have so much as a letter carried from place to place, or any message done for us; nay, out of victualling ships full loaden to go down to the fleet, and out of the vessels of the officers of the Ordnance, they press men, so that for want of discipline in this respect I do fear all will be undone. Late to bed; and while I was undressing myself our new ugly maid Lucy had like to have broke her neck in the dark, going down our upper stairs; but, which I was glad of, the poor girl did only bruise her head, but at first did lie on the ground groaning and drawing her breath, like one a-dying.

July 1st. (Lord's day.) Comes Sir W. Pen to town, which I little expected, having invited my Lady and her daughter Pegg to dine with me today; which at noon they did, and Sir W. Pen with them; and pretty merry we were. And though I do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in with him, his good service at Sheerness in getting out the fleet being much taken notice of, and reported to the King and Duke, even from the Prince and Duke of Albemarle themselves, and made the most of to me and them by Sir W. Coventry; therefore, I think it discretion, great and necessary discretion, to keep in with him. To the Tower several times, about the business of the pressed men, and late at it till twelve

at night, shipping of them. But, Lord! how some poor women did cry; and in my life I never did see such natural expression of passion as I did here, in some women's bewailing themselves, and running to every parcel of men that were brought, one after another, to look for their husbands, and wept over every vessel that went off, thinking they might be there, and looking after the ship as far as ever they could by moonlight, that it grieved me to the heart to hear them. Besides, to see poor, patient, labouring men and housekeepers, leaving poor wives and families, taken on a sudden by strangers, was very hard, and that without pressing money, but forced against all law to be gone. It is a great tyranny

2d. Up betimes, and forced to go to my Lord Mayor's, about the business of the pressed men; and indeed I find him a merchant of understanding and dispatch of any public business. Then out of curiosity to Bridewell, to see the pressed men, where there are about 300; but so unruly, that I durst not go among them: as they have reason to be so, having been kept these three days prisoners, with little or no victuals, and pressed out, and, contrary to all course of law, without press-money, and men that are not liable to it. Here I met with prating Colonel Cox, one of the City colonels, heretofore a great presbyter: but to hear how the fellow did commend himself and the service he do the King; an ass, at Paul's, did take me out of my way on purpose to show me the gate, the little north gate, where he had two men shot close by him on each side, and his own hair burnt by a bullet-shot, the insurrection of Venner, and himself escaped. Called by Peggy Pen to her house, where her father and mother, and Mrs. Norton the second Roxalana,<sup>1</sup> a fine woman, indifferent handsome, good body, and hand, and good mien, and pretends to sing, but does not excellently. To Deptford; but to see what a consternation there is upon the matter by reason of this great press, that nothing is able to get a waterman to appear almost. I found one of the vessels laden with the Bridewell birds in a great mutiny, and they would not sail, not they; but with good words, and cajoling the ringleader into the Tower (where, when he was come, he was clapped up in the Hole), they were got very quietly; but I think it is much if they do not run the vessel on ground.

3d. To my Lord Treasurer's; but my Lord being abroad, Mr. Finch, one of the Commissioners of Excise, and I walked two hours together in the garden, talking of many things; sometime

<sup>1</sup> The first having been Mrs. Davenport.

of Mr. Povy, whose vanity, prodigality, neglect of his business, and committing to unfit hands, hath undone him and outed him of all his public employments, and the thing set on foot by an accidental revival of a business, wherein he had three or four years ago, by surprise, got the Duke of York to sign to having a sum of money paid out of the Excise, before some that was due to him, and now the money is fallen short, and the Duke never likely to be paid. This being revived hath undone Povy. Then we fell to discourse of the Parliament, and the great men there; and, among others, Mr. Vaughan, whom he reports as a man of excellent judgement and learning, but most passionate and *opiniastre*. He had done himself the most wrong, though he values it not, that is, the displeasure of the King, in his standing so long against the breaking of the Act for a triennial Parliament; but yet do believe him to be a most loyal gentleman. He told me Mr. Prin's character: that he is a man of mighty labour and reading and memory, but the worst judge of matters, or layer together of what he hath read, in the world; which I do not, however, believe him in; that he believes him very true to the King in his heart, but can never be reconciled to episcopacy; that the House do not lay much weight upon him, or anything he says. Settling my last month's accounts, and, to my great joy, find myself worth above £5600. News came yesterday from Harwich, that the Dutch had appeared upon our coast with their fleet, and, we believe, did go to the Gunfleet, and they are supposed to be there now; but I have heard nothing of them today. Yesterday Dr. Whistler, at Sir W. Pen's, told me that Alexander Broome, the great song-maker, is lately dead.<sup>1</sup>

4th. Thanks be to God! the plague is, as I hear, increased but two this week; but in the country, in several places, it rages mightily, and particularly in Colchester, where it hath long been, and is believed will quite depopulate the place. With the Duke, all of us, discoursing about the places where to build ten great ships: the King and Council have resolved on none to be under third-rates; but it is impossible to do it, unless we have more money towards the doing it than yet we have in any view. But, however, the show must be made to the world. In the evening Sir W. Pen came to me, and we walked together, and talked of the late fight. I find him very plain, that the whole conduct of the late fight was ill; that two-thirds of the commanders of the whole fleet have told

<sup>1</sup> He died 30th June 1666, and was buried, by his own desire, under Lincoln's Inn Chapel, by the side of Prynne.

him so : they all saying, that they durst not oppose it at the Council of War, for fear of being called cowards, though it was wholly against their judgment to fight that day, with the disproportion of force ; and then, we not being able to use one gun of our lower tier, which was a greater disproportion than the other. Besides, we might very well have stayed in the Downs without fighting, or anywhere else, till the Prince could have come up to them ; or at least, till the weather was fair, that we might have the benefit of our whole force in the ships that we had. He says three things must be remedied, or else we shall be undone by this fleet. 1. That we must fight in a line, whereas we fight promiscuously, to our utter and demonstrable ruin : the Dutch fighting otherwise ; and we, whenever we beat them.—2. We must not desert ships of our own in distress, as we did, for that makes a Captain desperate, and he will fling away his ship when there are no hopes left him of succour.—3. That ships, when they are a little shattered, must not take the liberty to come in of themselves, but refit themselves the best they can, and stay out—many of our ships coming in with very small disableness. He told me that our very commanders, nay, our very flag-officers, do stand in need of exercising among themselves, and discoursing the business of commanding a fleet ; he telling me, that even one of our flag-men in the fleet did not know which tack lost the wind, or which kept it, in this last engagement. He says it was pure dismaying and fear that made them all run upon the Galloper, not having their wits about them ; and that it was a miracle they were not all lost. He much inveighs upon my discoursing of Sir John Lawson's saying heretofore that sixty sail would do as much as one hundred : and says that he was a man of no counsel at all, but had got the confidence to say as the gallants did, and did propose to himself to make himself great by them, and saying as they did ; but was no man of judgment in his business, but hath been out in the greatest points that have come before them. And then, in the business of forecastles, which he did oppose, all the world sees now the use of them for shelter of men. He did talk very rationally to me, insomuch that I took more pleasure this night in hearing him discourse than I ever did in my life in anything that he had said.

5th. At noon dined, and Mr. Shepley with me, who came to town the other day. I lent him £30 in silver upon 30 pieces in gold. But to see how apt everybody is to neglect old kindnesses ! I must charge myself with the ingratitude of being unwilling to

July 1666

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

lend him so much money without pawn, if he should have asked it, but he did not ask it, poor man, and so no harm done.

6th. To Lombard Street, in preparation for my having some good sum in my hands, for fear of a trouble in the State, that I may not have all I have in the world out of my hands and so be left a beggar. To the Tower, about shipping of some more pressed men; and that done, away to Broad Street, to Sir G. Carteret, who is at a pay of tickets all alone; and I believe not less than one thousand people in the streets. But it is a pretty thing to observe that, both there and everywhere else, a man shall see many women nowadays of mean sort in the streets, but no men, men being so afraid of the press. I dined with Sir G. Carteret, and after dinner had much discourse about our public business; and he do seem to fear every day more and more what I do; which is, a general confusion in the State; plainly answering me to the question, who is it that the weight of the war depends upon? that it is only Sir W. Coventry. He tells me, too, the Duke of Albemarle is dissatisfied, and that the Duchess do curse Coventry as the man that betrayed her husband to the sea: though I believe that it is not so. Thence to Lombard Street, and received £2000, and carried it home: whereof £1000 in gold. This I do for security sake and convenience of carriage, though it costs me above £70 the change of it, at 18½d. per piece. Being at home, I there met with a letter from Bab. Allen,<sup>1</sup> to invite me to be godfather to her boy, with Mrs. Williams, which I consented to, but know not the time when it is to be. At night a song in the garden, and to bed.

7th. Creed tells me he finds all things mighty dull at Court, and that they now begin to lie long in bed; it being, as we suppose, not seemly for them to be found playing and gaming as they used to be; nor that their minds are at ease enough to follow those sports, and yet not knowing how to employ themselves, though there be work enough for their thoughts and councils and pains, they keep long in bed. But he thinks, with me, that there is nothing in the world can help us but the King's personal looking after his business and his officers, and that, with that, we may yet do well; but otherwise must be undone; nobody at this day taking care of anything, nor hath anybody to call him to account for it. To bed; and it proved the hottest night that ever I was in in my life, and thundered and lightened all night long, and rained hard. But, Lord! to see

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Knipp.



in what fear I lay a good while, hearing of a little noise of somebody walking in the house: so rung the bell, and it was my maids going to bed about one o'clock in the morning. But the fear of being robbed, having so much money in the house, was very great, and is still so, and do much disquiet me.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, wife and Mercer and I, in expectation of hearing some mighty preacher today, Mrs. Mary Batelier sending us word so; but it proved our ordinary silly lecturer, which made me merry, and she laughed upon us to see her mistake. I expected to have had news sent me of Knipp's christening today; but, hearing nothing of it, I did not go, though I fear it is but their forgetfulness, and so I may disappoint them. To church, after dinner, again—a thing I have not done a good while before, go twice in one day.

9th. To my office, where busy till come to by Lovett and his wife, who have brought me some sheets of paper varnished on one side, which lies very light and smooth and, I think, will do our business most exactly, and will come up to the use that I intended them for, and I am apt to believe will be an invention that will take in the world. I have made up a little book of it to give Sir W. Coventry tomorrow, and am very pleased with it. Home with them, and there find my aunt Wight with my wife, come to take her leave of her, being going for the summer into the country; and there was also Mrs. Mary Batelier and her sister, newly come out of France—a black, very black, woman, but mighty good-natured people both, as ever I saw. Here I made the black one sing a French song, which she did mighty innocently; and then Mrs. Lovett play on the lute, which she do very well; and then Mercer and I sang; and so, with great pleasure, I left them, having showed them my chamber and £1000 in gold, which they wondered at, and given them sweetmeats, and shown my Aunt Wight my father's picture, which she admires.

10th. Presented Sir W. Coventry with my little book made up of Lovett's varnished paper, which he and the whole Board liked very well. To the office; the yard being very full of women, I believe above three hundred, coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland: and they lay clamouring and swearing and cursing us, that my wife and I were afraid to send a venison pasty that we have for supper tonight to the cook's to be baked, for fear of their offering violence to it: but it went and no hurt done. Then I took an opportunity,

when they were all gone into the foreyard, and slipped into the office, and there busy all the afternoon; but by and by the women got into the garden and came all to my closet window, and there tormented me. And I confess their cries were so sad for money that I do most heartily pity them, and was ready to cry to hear them, but cannot help them. However, when the rest were gone, I did call one to me that I heard complain, only and pity her husband, and did give her some money, and she blessed me and went away. To the Tower, to speak with Sir John Robinson, principally about the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes. Home, and there find my wife and the two Mrs. Batchers walking in the garden. I with them till almost nine at night, and then they and we and Mrs. Mercer, the mother, and her daughter Anne, and our Mercer, to supper to a good venison pasty and other good things, and had a good supper, and very merry. Mistress Batchers being both very good-humoured. We sang and talked, and then led them home, and there they made us drink; and, among other things, did show us, in cages, some birds brought from about Bordeaux, that are all fat, and, examining one of them, they are so, almost all fat. Their name is *otolans*, which are brought over to the King for him to eat, and indeed are excellent things.

11th. To St. James's, and there hear that the Duchess lately<sup>1</sup> brought to bed of a boy. By and by called to wait on the Duke, the King being present; and there agreed, among other things, of the places to build the ten new great ships ordered to be built, and as to the relief of prisoners in Holland. And then about several stories of the baseness of the King of Spain being craved with officers: they in Flanders having as good common men as any Prince in the world, but the very cowards for the officers, nay, for the general officers, as the General and Lieutenant-general, in the whole world. But, above all things, the King did speak most in contempt of the ceremoniousness of the King of Spain, that he do nothing but under some ridiculous form or other. When I came to the office I there met with a command from my Lord Arlington, to go down to a galliot at Greenwich, by the King's particular command, that is going to carry the Savoy cargo over, and we fear that there may be many Frenchmen there on board; and so I have a power and command to search for, and seize, all that have not passed from one of the Secretaries of State, and to bring them and their papers and everything else in custody. So I

<sup>1</sup> On the 4th. Charles, Duke of Kendal, died 22d. of May 1667.

to the Tower, and got a couple of musketeers with me, and Griffin and my boy Tom, and so down; and, being come, found none on board but two or three servants, looking to horses and dogs, there on board. On shore at Greenwich, the night being late, and the tide against us: so, having sent before, to Mrs. Clerke's, and there had a good bed, and well received, the whole people rising to see me, and among the rest young Mrs. Daniel, whom I kissed again and again.

12th. Up again by five o'clock, and away to the Tower, and thence, having shifted myself, to St. James's, to Goring House, there to wait on my Lord Arlington, to give him an account of my night's work, but he was not up, being not long since married.<sup>1</sup> So, after walking up and down the house below, being the house I was once at Hartlib's sister's wedding, and is a very fine house, and finely furnished; and then I away to St. James's, and with Sir W. Coventry into London, to the office. And all the way I observed him mightily to make mirth of the Duke of Albemarle and his people about him, saying that he was the happiest man in the world for doing of great things by sorry instruments; and so particularized in Sir W. Clerke, and Riggs, and Halsey, and others; and then again said that the only quality eminent in him was that he did persevere; and indeed he is a very drudge, and stands by the King's business. And this he said, that one thing he was good at, that he never would receive an excuse if the thing was not done, listening to no reason for it, be it good or bad. And then he begun to say what a great man Warcup was, and something else, and what was that but a great liar; and told me a story, how at table he did, they speaking about antipathies, say that a rose touching his skin anywhere would make it rise and pimple; and, by and by the dessert coming, with roses upon it, the Duchess<sup>2</sup> bid him try, and they did; but they rubbed and rubbed, but nothing would do in the world, by which his lie was found out then. He spoke contemptibly of Holmes and his myrmidons, that came to take down the ships from hence, and have carried them without any necessaries, or anything almost, that they will certainly be longer getting ready than if they had stayed here. In fine, I do

<sup>1</sup> To Isabella, daughter of Louis de Nassau, Lord of Beverweert, and Count of Nassau, natural son of Prince Maurice. She was sister of the Countess of Ossory; her daughter by Lord Arlington was afterwards first Duchess of Grafton.

<sup>2</sup> Of Albemarle.

observe he hath no esteem nor kindness for the Duke's matters, but, contrarily, do slight him and them; and I pray God the kingdom do not pay too dear by this jarring; though this blockheaded Duke I did never expect better from. To dinner, and thence to the office where Mrs. Burroughs, my pretty widow, was, and so I did her business and sent her away by agreement, and presently I by coach after and took her up in Fenchurch Street. And away through the City, hiding my face as much as I could; but she being mighty pretty and well enough clad, I was not afeard but only lest somebody should see me and think me idle. I quite through with her, and so into the fields Uxbridge way, a mile or two beyond Tyburn, and then back and then to Paddington, and then back to Lisson Green, a place the coachman led me to (I never knew in my life). And there we eat and drank, and so back to Charing Cross, and there I set her down. All the way most excellent pretty company. I had her lips as much as I would, and a mighty pretty woman she is, and very modest and yet kind in all fair ways. All this time I passed with mighty pleasure, it being what I have for a long time wished for, and did pay this day 5s. forfeit for her company.

14th. Up betimes to the office, to write fair a laborious letter I wrote as from the Board to the Duke of York, laying out our want of money again; and particularly the business of Captain Cocke's tender of hemp,<sup>1</sup> which my Lord Brouncker brought in, under an unknown hand, without name, wherein his Lordship will have no great success, I doubt. That being done, I down to Thames Street, and there agreed for four or five tons of cork, to send this day to the fleet, being a new device to make barricados with, instead of junk. After a song in the garden, which is now the greatest pleasure I take, and indeed do please me mightily, to bed. This evening, I had Davila<sup>2</sup> brought home to me, and find it a most excellent history as ever I read.

15th. (Lord's day.) To church, where our lecturer made a sorry silly sermon, upon the great point of proving the truth of the Christian religion. Walked through the Park, and there, it being mighty hot and I weary, lay down by the canal, upon the grass, and slept awhile, and was thinking of a lampoon which hath run in my head this week, to make upon the late fight at sea, and the

<sup>1</sup> For which Pepys was to receive £500.

<sup>2</sup> The work referred to is *Storia delle guerre civili di Francia*, by Arrigo Caterino Davila.

miscarriages there. But other businesses put it out of my head : and so home, and there drank a great deal of small beer ; and so took up my wife and Betty Michell and her husband, and away into the fields, to take the air, as far as beyond Hackney, and so back again, in our way drinking a great deal of milk, which I drank to take away my heartburn. Home, and to bed in some pain, and fear of more. In mighty pain all night long, which I impute to the milk that I drank upon so much beer, but the cold, to my washing my feet the night before.

16th. A wonderful dark sky and shower of rain this morning. At Harwich a shower of hail as big as walnuts. In great pain all the morning. Passed the day with Balty who is come from sea for a day or two before the fight, and I perceive could be willing fairly to be out of the next fight, and I cannot much blame him, he having no reason by his place to be there ; however, would not have him to be absent, manifestly to avoid being there.

17th. I went and bought a common riding-cloak for myself, to save my best. It cost me but 30s., and will do my turn mighty well. This day I did bid Balty to agree with —, the Dutch painter which he once led me to to see landscapes, for a winter-piece of snow, which indeed is a good piece, and costs me but 40s., which I would not take the money again for, it being, I think, very good.

18th. To St. James's after my fellows ; and here, among other things, before us all, the Duke of York did say that now at length he is come to a sure knowledge that the Dutch did lose in the late engagements twenty-nine Captains and thirteen ships. Upon which Sir W. Coventry did publicly move that, if His Royal Highness had this of a certainty, it would be of use to send this down to the fleet, and to cause it to be spread about the fleet, for the recovering of the spirits of the officers and seamen, who are under great dejectedness for want of knowing that they did do anything against the enemy, notwithstanding all that they did to us. Which, though it be true, yet methought was one of the most dishonourable motions to our countrymen that ever was made ; and is worth remembering. Thence with Sir W. Pen home, calling at Lely's, to have a time appointed when to be drawn among the other Commanders of Flags the last year's fight ; and so full of work Lely is, that he was fain to take his table-book out to see how his time is appointed, and appointed six days hence for him [Sir W. Pen] to come between seven and eight in the morning. Thence

with him home; and there by appointment I find Dr. Fuller, now Bishop of Limerick, in Ireland; whom I knew in his low condition at Twickenham,<sup>1</sup> and find the Bishop the same good man as ever; and, in a word, kind to us, and, methinks, one of the comeliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I saw in my life. During dinner comes an acquaintance of his, Sir Thomas Littleton;<sup>2</sup> whom I knew not while he was in my house, but liked his discourse: and afterwards, by Sir W. Pen, do come to know that he is one of the greatest speakers in the House of Commons, and the usual second to the great Vaughan: so was sorry I did observe him no more and gain no more of his acquaintance. Walked to Woolwich, reading 'The Rival Ladies' all the way, and find it a most pleasant and fine-writ play.

19th. Full of wants of money, and much stores to buy, for to replenish the stores, and no money to do it with nor anybody to trust us without it. Balty takes his leave of us, he going away towards the fleet, where he will pass through one great engagement more before he be two days older, I believe. After I was in bed I had a letter from Sir W. Coventry that tells me that the fleet is sailed this morning; God send us good news of them!

20th. To Lovett's, there to see how my picture goes on to be varnished, a fine Crucifix,<sup>3</sup> which will be very fine; and here I saw some fine prints, brought from France by Sir Thomas Crewe. Lovett did present me with a varnished staff, very fine and light to walk with. Mrs. Daniel and her sister Sarah dined with us; and old Mr. Hawley, whose condition pities me, he being forced to turn under parish-clerk at St. Giles's - I think at the other end of the town. Sir W. Pen and I supped together upon the seat in the garden, and there, he gone, my wife and Mercer came and walked and sang late, and then home to bed.

21st. At noon walked in the garden with Commissioner Pett, newly come to town, who tells me how infinite the disorders are

<sup>1</sup> Where he kept a school.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards made Treasurer of the Navy in conjunction with Sir Thomas Osborne. He was the eldest son of Sir Adam Littleton, of Stoke Millborough, Salop, who had been created a baronet in 1642. He married Anne, daughter and heir of Edward Lord Littleton, the Lord Keeper, and died in 1681, aged fifty-seven. Sir Thomas Littleton, the only son of this match, became Speaker of the House of Commons, and deceased, *s.p.*, in 1710.

<sup>3</sup> This crucifix occasioned Pepys trouble long afterwards, having been brought as evidence that he was a papist.

among the commanders and all officers of the fleet. No discipline: nothing but swearing and cursing, and everybody doing what they please; and the Generals, understanding no better, suffer it, to the reproaching of this Board, or whoever it will be. He himself hath been challenged twice to the field, or something as good, by Sir Edward Spragg and Captain Seymour. He tells me that Captains carry, for all the late orders, what men they please. So that he fears, and I do no less, that God Almighty cannot bless us while we keep in this disorder that we are in: he observing to me, too, that there is no man of counsel or advice in the fleet; and, the truth is, the Gentlemen-Captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke, and their own houses, are so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them.

22d. (Lord's day.) Walked to White Hall, where saw nobody almost, but walked up and down with Hugh May, who is a very ingenious man. Among other things, discoursing of the present fashion of gardens to make them plain, that we have the best walks of gravel in the world, France having none, nor Italy; and our green of our bowling alleys is better than any they have. So our business here being air, this is the best way, only with a little mixture of statues, or pots, which may be handsome, and so filled with another pot of such or such a flower or green, as the season of the year will bear. And then for flowers, they are best seen in a little plat by themselves: besides, their borders spoil the walks of another garden: and then for fruit, the best way is to have walls built circularly one within another, to the South, on purpose for fruit, and leave the walking garden only for that use. Thence walked through the House, where most people mighty hush, and, methinks, melancholy. I see not a smiling face through the whole Court: and, in my conscience, they are doubtful of the conduct again of the Generals, and I pray God they may not make their fears reasonable. Sir Richard Fanshawe is lately dead at Madrid. The fleet cannot get clear of the River, but expect the first wind to be out, and then to be sure they fight. The Queen and Maids of Honour are at Tunbridge.

23d. Comes Sympson, the joiner; and he and I, with great pains, contriving presses to put my books up in: they now growing numerous, and lying one upon another on my chairs, I lose the use to avoid the trouble of removing them, when I would open a book. All full of expectation of the fleet's engagement, but it is

not yet. Sir W. Coventry says they are eighty-nine men-of-war, but one fifth-rate, and that the Sweepstakes, which carries forty guns. They are most infinitely manned. He tells me the *Loyal London*, Sir J. Smith (which, by the way, he commends to be the best ship in the world, large and big), hath above eight hundred men; and, moreover, takes notice, which is worth notice, that the fleet hath lain now near fourteen days without any demand for a farthing-worth of anything of any kind, but only to get men. He also observes that with this excess of men, nevertheless, they have thought fit to leave behind them sixteen ships, which they have robbed of their men, which certainly might have been manned, and they been serviceable in the fight, and yet the fleet well manned, according to the excess of supernumeraries which we hear they have. At least two or three of them might have been left manned, and sent away with the *Gothenburg* ships. They conclude this to be much the best fleet, for force of guns, greatness and number of ships and men, that ever England did see; being, as Sir W. Coventry reckons, besides those left behind, eighty-nine men-of-war, and twenty fire-ships, though we cannot hear that they have with them above eighteen. The French are not yet joined with the Dutch, which do dissatisfy the Hollanders; and, if they should have a defeat, will undo De Witt; the people generally of Holland do hate this league with France.

24th. Busy very late, till midnight, drawing up a representation of the state of my victualling business to the Duke in writing, I now having had the advantage of having had two fleets despatched in better condition than ever any fleets were yet, I believe—at least, with less complaint; and by this means I shall with the better confidence get my bills out for my salary.

25th. At White Hall; we find the Court gone to chapel, it being St. James's day. And, by the by, while they are at chapel, and we waiting chapel being done, come people out of the Park, telling us that the guns are heard plainly. And so everybody to the Park; and by and by the chapel done, and the King and Duke into the bowling-green, and upon the leads, whither I went, and there the guns were plain to be heard; though it was pretty to hear how confident some would be in the loudness of the guns, which it was as much as ever I could do to hear them. By and by the King to dinner, and I waited there his dining; but, Lord! how little I should be pleased, I think, to have so many people crowding about me; and, among other things, it astonished me to see my



among the commanders and all officers of the fleet. No discipline: nothing but swearing and cursing, and everybody doing what they please; and the Generals, understanding no better, suffer it, to the reproaching of this Board, or whoever it will be. He himself hath been challenged twice to the field, or something as good, by Sir Edward Spragg and Captain Seymour. He tells me that Captains carry, for all the late orders, what men they please. So that he fears, and I do no less, that God Almighty cannot bless us while we keep in this disorder that we are in: he observing to me, too, that there is no man of counsel or advice in the fleet; and, the truth is, the Gentlemen-Captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke, and their own houses, are so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them.

22d. (Lord's day.) Walked to White Hall, where saw nobody almost, but walked up and down with Hugh May, who is a very ingenious man. Among other things, discoursing of the present fashion of gardens to make them plain, that we have the best walks of gravel in the world, France having none, nor Italy; and our green of our bowling alleys is better than any they have. So our business here being air, this is the best way, only with a little mixture of statues, or pots, which may be handsome, and so filled with another pot of such or such a flower or green, as the season of the year will bear. And then for flowers, they are best seen in a little plat by themselves: besides, their borders spoil the walks of another garden: and then for fruit, the best way is to have walls built circularly one within another, to the South, on purpose for fruit, and leave the walking garden only for that use. Thence walked through the House, where most people mighty hush, and, methinks, melancholy. I see not a smiling face through the whole Court: and, in my conscience, they are doubtful of the conduct again of the Generals, and I pray God they may not make their fears reasonable. Sir Richard Fanshawe is lately dead at Madrid. The fleet cannot get clear of the River, but expect the first wind to be out, and then to be sure they fight. The Queen and Maids of Honour are at Tunbridge.

23d. Comes Sympson, the joiner; and he and I, with great pains, contriving presses to put my books up in: they now growing numerous, and lying one upon another on my chairs, I lose the use to avoid the trouble of removing them, when I would open a book. All full of expectation of the fleet's engagement, but it is

me how he is disturbed to hear the commanders at sea called cowards here on shore, and that he was yesterday concerned publicly at a dinner to defend them, against somebody that said that not above twenty of them fought as they should do: and indeed it is derived from the Duke of Albemarle himself, who wrote so to the King and Duke, and that he told them how they fought four days—two of them with great disadvantage. The Count de Guiche,<sup>1</sup> who was on board De Ruyter, writing his narrative home in French of the fight, do lay all the honour that may be upon the English courage above the Dutch, and that he himself<sup>2</sup> was sent down from the King and Duke of York after the fight, to pray them to spare none that they thought had not done their parts, and that they had removed but four, whereof Du Tell is one, of whom he would say nothing; but, it seems, the Duke of York hath been much displeased at his removal, and hath now taken him into his service,<sup>3</sup> which is a plain affront to the Duke of Albemarle; and two of the others, Sir W. Coventry did speak very slenderly of their faults. Only the last, which was old Teddiman, he says, is in fault, and hath little to excuse himself with; and that therefore we should not be forward in condemning men of want of courage, when the Generals, who are both men of mettle, and hate cowards, and had the sense of our ill success upon them, thought fit to remove no more of them, when desired by the King and Duke of York to do it without respect to any favour any of them can pretend to in either of them.

28th. To the Pope's Head, where my Lord Brouncker and his mistress dined, and Commissioner Pett, Dr. Charleton,<sup>4</sup> and myself were entertained with a venison pasty by Sir W. Warren. Here very pretty discourse of Dr. Charleton's, concerning Nature's fashioning every creature's teeth according to the food she intends them; and that men's, it is plain, was not for flesh, but for fruit, and that he can at any time tell the food of a beast unknown by the teeth; and that all children love fruit, and none brought to flesh, but against their wills, at first. Thence with my Lord to his coach-house, and there put in his six horses into his coach, and he and I alone to Highgate. All the way, going and coming, I

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of the Duke de Grammont.

<sup>2</sup> Sir W. Coventry.

<sup>3</sup> As Yeoman of the Cellar and Cup-bearer.

<sup>4</sup> Walter Charleton, a native of Somersetshire, Physician in Ordinary to Charles II during his exile and after the Restoration. He was a learned and voluminous author, and died in 1707.

learning of him the principles of Optics, and what it is that makes an object seem less or bigger, and how much distance do lessen an object, and that it is not the eye at all, or any rule in optics, that can tell distance, but it is only an act of reason comparing of one mark with another, which did both please and inform me mightily. Being come thither, we went to my Lord Lauderdale's house to speak with him; we find him and his lady and some Scotch people at supper: pretty odd company, though my Lord Brouncker tells me my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgment. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the violin some Scotch tunes only; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them by their praising and admiring them: but, Lord! the strangest air that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew than the best music in the world; and the better the music, the more sick it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and, next to that, the bagpipe.

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share. Young Seymour is killed, the only Captain slain. The Resolution burned; but, as they say, most of her crew and Commander saved. This is all, only we keep the sea, which denotes a victory, or, at least, that we are not beaten; but no great matters to brag of, God knows.

30th. Up and did some business in my chamber, then by and by comes my boy's lute-master, and I did direct him hereafter to begin to teach him to play his part on the theorbo, which he will do, and that in a very little time, I believe. To Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's, where I find him in his new closet, which is very fine and well supplied with handsome books. I find him speak very slightly of the late victory: dislikes their staying with the fleet up their coast, believing that the Dutch will come out in fourteen days, and then we, with our unready fleet, by reason of some of the ships being maimed, shall be in bad condition to fight them upon their coast: is much dissatisfied with the great number of men, and their fresh demands of twenty-four victualling ships, they going out the other day as full as they could stow. He spoke slightly of the Duke of Albemarle, saying, when De Ruyter came to give him a broadside—'Now,' says he, chewing of tobacco the while, 'will this fellow come and give me two broadsides, and then he will run'; but it seems he held him to it two hours, till the Duke himself was forced to retreat to refit, and was towed off, and De Ruyter stayed for him till he came back again to fight. One in the ship saying to the Duke, 'Sir, methinks De Ruyter hath given us more than two broadsides'—'Well,' says the Duke, 'but you shall find him run by and by.' And so he did, says Sir W. Coventry, but after the Duke himself had been first made to fall off. The Resolution had all brass guns, being the same that Sir J. Lawson had in her in the Straits. It is observed, that the two fleets were even in number to one ship.

Thence home; and to sing with my wife and Mercer in the garden; and coming in, I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take the pains with her, which I acknowledge. But it is because that the girl do take music mighty readily, and she do not; and music is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed, in some little discontent, but no words from me.

31st. To a Committee of Tangier. The Court being empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge, and the Duke of York

learning of him the principles of Optics, and what it is that makes an object seem less or bigger, and how much distance do lessen an object, and that it is not the eye at all, or any rule in optics, that can tell distance, but it is only an act of reason comparing of one mark with another, which did both please and inform me mightily. Being come thither, we went to my Lord Lauderdale's house to speak with him; we find him and his lady and some Scotch people at supper: pretty odd company, though my Lord Brouncker tells me my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgment. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the violin some Scotch tunes only; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them by their praising and admiring them: but, Lord! the strangest air that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew than the best music in the world; and the better the music, the more sick it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and, next to that, the bagpipe.

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which did displease him mightily, and parted at noon very angry with me. Balty's wife is in great pain for her husband, not hearing of him since the fight; but I understand he was not in it, going hence too late. By coach to see my Lord Brouncker, who it seems was not well yesterday, but being come thither I find his coach ready to carry him abroad. But Tom, his footman, whatever the matter was, was loth to desire me to come in, but I walked a great while in the piazza till I was going away: but by and by my Lord himself comes down and coldly received me. So I soon parted, having enough for my over-officious folly in troubling myself to visit him; and I am apt to think that he was fearful that my coming was out of design to see how he spent his time rather than to enquire after his health.

3d. The death of Everson, and the report of our success, beyond expectation, in the killing of so great a number of men, hath raised the estimation of the late victory considerably; but it is only among fools, for all that was but accidental. But this morning, getting Sir W. Pen to read over the Narrative with me, he did sparingly, yet plainly, say that we might have intercepted their Zealand squadron coming home, if we had done our parts; and more, that we might have spooned<sup>1</sup> before the wind as well as they, and have overtaken their ships in the pursuit, in all the while.

4th. Mr. Cooke dined with us, who is lately come from Hinchinbroke. The family all well. This evening Sir W. Pen came into the garden and walked with me, and told me that he had certain notice that at Flushing they are in great distraction. De Ruyter dares not come on shore for fear of the people; nor anybody open their houses or shops for fear of the tumult: which is a very good hearing.

5th. (Lord's day.) To the parish church, to have one look upon Betty Michell, and so away to the church, where, I believe, Mrs. Horsley goes, by Merchant-tailors' hall, and there I find in the pulpit Elborough, my old schoolfellow and a simple rogue, and yet I find him preaching a very good sermon, and in as right a parsonlike manner, and in good manner, too, as I have heard anybody; and the church very full, which is a surprising consideration. After dinner with my wife and Mercer and Jane by water up as high as Mortlake with great pleasure, and a fine day, reading over

<sup>1</sup> To spoom, or spoon, is to go right before the wind, without any sail (*Sea Dictionary*, 1708).

learning of him the principles of Optics, and what it is that makes an object seem less or bigger, and how much distance do lessen an object, and that it is not the eye at all, or any rule in optics, that can tell distance, but it is only an act of reason comparing of one mark with another, which did both please and inform me mightily. Being come thither, we went to my Lord Lauderdale's house to speak with him; we find him and his lady and some Scotch people at supper: pretty odd company, though my Lord Brouncker tells me my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgment. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the violin some Scotch tunes only; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them by their praising and admiring them: but, Lord! the strangest air that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew than the best music in the world; and the better the music, the more sick it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and, next to that, the bagpipe.

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end of the town (meaning my wife), that she was crooked, which was quite false, which my wife had the wit not to acknowledge herself to be the speaker of, though she has said it twenty times. However, Knipp and I sang, and then I offered them to carry them home and to take my wife with me, but she would not go: so I with them, leaving my wife in a very ill humour. However, I would not be removed from my civility to them, but sent for a coach, and went with them; and in our way, Knipp saying that she came out of doors without a dinner to us, I took them to Old Fish Street, to the very house and woman where I kept my wedding dinner, where I never was since, and there I did give them a jowl of salmon and what else was to be had. And here we talked of the ill humour of my wife, which I did excuse as much as I could, and they seemed to admit of it, but did both confess they wondered at it. But from thence to other discourse, and among others to that of my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams, who it seems do speak mightily hardly of me for my not treating them, and not giving her something to her closet, and do speak worse of my wife and dishonourably: but it is what she do of all the world, so I value it not. They told me how poorly my Lord carried himself the other day to his kinswoman, Mrs. Howard, and was displeased because she called him uncle to a little gentlewoman that is there with him, which he will not admit of (for no relation is to be challenged from others to a lord), and did treat her thereupon very widely and ungentlely. Knipp tells me, also, that my Lord keeps another woman besides Mrs. Williams; and that, when I was there the other day, there was a great hubbub in the house, Mrs. Williams being fallen sick because my Lord was gone to his other mistress, making her wait for him till his return from the other mistress: and a great deal of do there was about it, and Mrs. Williams swoounded at it, at the very time when I was there and wondered at the reason of my being received so negligently. I set them both at home—Knipp at her house, her husband being at the door; and glad she was to be found to have stayed out so long with me and Mrs. Pierce, and none else. Home, and there find my wife mightily out of order, and reproaching of Mrs. Pierce and Knipp as wenches, and I know not what. But I did give her no words to offend her, and quietly let all pass.

7th. Comes Mr. Reeve, with a twelve-foot glass. Up to the top of the house, and there we endeavoured to see the moon, and Saturn and Jupiter; but the heavens proved cloudy, and so we lost



our labour, having taken pains to get things together, in order to the managing of our long glass. I receive fresh intelligence that Deptford and Greenwich are now afresh exceedingly afflicted with the sickness more than ever.

8th. Discoursed with Mr. Hooke, whom I met in the street, about the nature of sounds, and he did make me understand the nature of musical sounds made by strings, mighty prettily; and told me that having come to a certain number of vibrations proper to make any tone, he is able to tell how many strokes a fly makes with her wings, those flies that hum in their flying, by the note that it answers to in music, during their flying. That, I suppose, is a little too much refined; but his discourse in general of sound was mighty fine. To St. James's, where we attended with the rest of my fellows on the Duke, whom I found with two or three patches upon his nose and about his right eye, which came from his being struck with the bough of a tree the other day in his hunting; and it is a wonder it did not strike out his eye. After we had done our business with him, which is now but little, the want of money being such as leaves us but little to do but to answer complaints of the want thereof, and nothing to offer to the Duke, the representing of our want of money being now become useless, I to the Exchequer, and so by coach to Bow, to my Lady Pooley's,<sup>1</sup> where my wife was with Mr. Batelier and his sisters; and there I found a noble supper. About ten o'clock we rose from table, and sang a song; and so home in two coaches, Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary and my wife and I in one, and Mercer alone in the other; and, after being examined at Aldgate whether we were husbands and wives, home. I find Reeves there, it being a mighty fine bright night, and so upon my leads, though very sleepy, till one in the morning, looking on the moon and Jupiter, with the twelve-foot glass and another of six foot, that he hath brought with him tonight: and the sights mighty pleasant, and one of the glasses I will buy. So to bed mighty sleepy, but with much pleasure, Reeves lying at my house; and mighty proud I am, and ought to be thankful to God Almighty that I am able to have a spare bed for my friends.

9th. Mightily pleased with a Virgin's head that my wife is now doing of. In the evening to Lombard Street, about money, to enable me to pay Sir G. Carteret's £3000 which he hath lodged in my hands, in behalf of his son and my Lady Jemimah, towards their portion. Mrs. Rawlinson is dead of the sickness, and her

<sup>1</sup> Wife of Sir Edmund Pooley, mentioned before.

maid continues mighty ill. He<sup>1</sup> himself is got out of the house. I met also with Mr. Evelyn in the street, who tells me the sad condition at this very day at Deptford, for the plague, and more at Deal, within his precinct, as one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded seamen, that the town is almost quite depopulated.

10th. To Sympson, the joiner, and I am mightily pleased with what I saw of my presses for my books, which he is making for me. Homeward, and hear in Fenchurch Street that now the maid is also dead at Mr. Rawlinson's; so that there are three dead in all, the wife, a man-servant, and maid-servant. Pleased to hear of Mrs. Barbara Sheldon's good fortune, who is like to have Mr. Wood's son, the mast-maker, a very rich man, and to be married speedily, she being already mighty fine upon it.

11th. This afternoon I hear as if we had landed some men upon the Dutch coasts, but I believe it is but a foolery either in the report or the attempt.

12th. (Lord's day.) In the evening I and my wife up to her closet, to examine her kitchen accounts, and there I took occasion to fall out with her for her buying a laced handkercher and pinner without my leave. From this we began both to be angry, and so continued till bed, and did not sleep friends.

13th. Up, without being friends with my wife, nor great enemies, being both quiet and silent. To Paul's Church-yard, to treat with a bookbinder to come and gild the backs of all my books, to make them handsome, to stand in my new presses.

14th. (Thanksgiving day.<sup>2</sup>) Comes Mr. Foley and his man with a box of great variety of carpenter's and joiner's tools, which I had bespoke, which please me mightily, but I will have more. To White Hall, where Povy tells me how mad my letter makes my Lord Peterborough, and what a furious letter he hath writ to me in answer, though it is not come yet. This did trouble me; for, though there be no reason, yet to have a nobleman's mouth open against a man may do a man hurt; so I endeavoured to have found him out and spoke with him, but could not. So to the chapel, and heard a piece of the Dean of Westminster's<sup>3</sup> sermon, and a special good anthem before the King, after a sermon. After dinner with my wife and Mercer to the Bear Garden;<sup>4</sup> where I

<sup>1</sup> Her husband, Daniel Rawlinson.      <sup>2</sup> In honour of the naval success.

<sup>3</sup> John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York.

<sup>4</sup> The bear garden was situated on Bankside; there are many particulars about it in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1838, part i, p. 483; part ii, p. 507.

have not been, I think, of many years, and saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs—one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure. We had a great many hectors in the same box with us (and one very fine went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager; which was a strange sport for a gentleman), where they drank wine, and drank Mercer's health first; which I pledged with my hat off. In the evening our company came to supper: we had invited to a venison pasty Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary, Mrs. Mercer, her daughter Anne, Mr. Le Brun, and W. Hewer. And so we supped and very merry. And then about nine o'clock to Mrs. Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets; and there mighty merry, my Lady Pen and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright, till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks, and burning one another and the people over the way. And at last, our business being most spent, we went into Mrs. Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle-grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house. And there I made them drink, and upstairs we went, and then fell into dancing, W. Batelier dancing well: and dressing, him and I and one Mr. Banister (who, with his wife, came over also with us) like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's, like a boy, and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jig; and Nan Wright and my wife and Pegg Pen put on periwigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry; and then parted, and to bed.

15th. Mighty sleepy; slept till past eight of the clock, and was called up by a letter from Sir W. Coventry, which, among other things, tells me how we have burned one hundred and sixty ships of the enemy within the Fly. I up, and with all possible haste, and in pain for fear of coming late, it being our day of attending the Duke of York, to St. James's, where they are full of the particulars; how they are generally good merchant-ships, some of them laden and supposed rich ships. We spent five fire-ships upon them. We landed on the Schelling (Sir Philip Howard with some men, and Holmes, I think, with others, about 1000 in all), and burned a town; and so came away. By and by the Duke of York, with his books, showed us the very place and manner: and that it was not our design and expectation to have done this, but only to have landed on the Fly and burned some of their stores; but, being come in, we spied those ships, and with our long-boats, one by one,

fired them, our ships running all aground, it being so shoal water. We were led to this by, it seems, a renegado captain of the Hollanders, who found himself ill used by De Ruyter for his good service, and so came over to us, and hath done us good service; so that now we trust him, and he himself did go on this expedition. The service is very great, and our joys as great for it. All this will make the Duke of Albemarle in repute again, I doubt, though there is nothing of his in this. Down the river, reading 'The Adventures of Five Hours,' which, the more I read, the more I admire. The guns of the Tower going off, and there being bonfires also in the street for this late good success.

16th. This day Sir W. Batten did show us at the table a letter from Sir T. Allen, which says that we have taken ten or twelve ships, since the late great expedition of burning their ships and town, laden with hemp, flax, tar, deals, &c. This was good news; but by and by comes in Sir G. Carteret, and he asked us with full mouth what we would give for good news. Says W. Batten, 'I have better than you, for a wager.' They laid sixpence, and we that were by were to give sixpence to him that told the best news. So Sir W. Batten told his of the ten or twelve ships. Sir G. Carteret did then tell us that, upon the news of the burning of the ships and town, the common people of Amsterdam did besiege De Witt's house, and he was forced to flee to the Prince of Orange, who is gone to Cleves to the marriage of his sister. This we concluded all the best news, and my Lord Brouncker and myself did give Sir G. Carteret our sixpence apiece, which he did give Mr. Smith to give to the poor. Thus we made ourselves mighty merry.

17th. With Captain Erwin down by water to Woolwich, and had a piece of bridecake sent me by Mrs. Barbary<sup>1</sup> into the boat after me, she being here at her uncle's with her husband, Mr. Wood's son, the mast-maker, and mighty nobly married. They say she was very fine, and he very rich—a strange fortune for so odd a looked maid, though her hands and body be good, and nature very good, I think. Back with Captain Erwin, discoursing about the East Indies, where he hath often been. And, among other things, he tells me how the King of Siam seldom goes out without thirty or forty thousand people with him, and not a word spoke, nor a hum or cough in the whole company to be heard. He tells me the punishment frequently there for malefactors is

<sup>1</sup> Sheldon.

cutting off the crown of their head, which they do very dexterously, leaving their brains bare, which kills them presently. He told me, what I remember he hath once done heretofore, that everybody is to lie flat down at the coming by of the King, and nobody to look upon him upon pain of death. And that he and his fellows, being strangers, were invited to see the sport of taking a wild elephant; and they did only kneel, and look toward the King. Their dragoman did desire them to fall down, for otherwise he should suffer for their contempt of the King. The sport being ended, a messenger comes from the King, which the dragoman thought had been to have taken away his life; but it was to enquire how the strangers liked the sport. The dragoman answered that they did cry it up to be the best that ever they saw, and that they never heard of any Prince so great in everything as this King. The messenger being gone back, Erwin and his company asked their dragoman what he had said, which he told them. 'But why,' say they 'would you say that without our leave, it being not true?' ---'It makes no matter for that,' says he; 'I must have said it, or have been hanged; for our King do not live by meat, nor drink, but by having great lies told him.' In our way back we come by a little vessel that came into the river this morning, and says she left the fleet in Sole Bay, and that she hath not heard, she belonging to Sir W. Jennings in the fleet, of any such prizes taken as the ten or twelve I enquired about, and said by Sir W. Batten yesterday to be taken, so I fear it is not true. To Westminster, and there I had the good fortune to see Mrs. Stuart, who is grown a little too tall, but is a woman of most excellent features. The narrative of the late expedition in burning the ships is in print, and makes it a great thing; and I hope it is so. To Sir W. Batten's, where Sir Richard Ford did, very understandingly, methought, give us an account of the original of the Hollands Bank, and the nature of it, and how they do never give any interest at all to any person that brings in their money, though what is brought in upon the public faith, interest is given by the State for. The unsafe condition of a Bank under a monarch, and the little safety to a monarch to have any; or Corporation alone, as London in answer to Amsterdam, to have so great a wealth or credit, it is, that makes it hard to have a Bank here. And, as to the former, he did tell us how it sticks in the memory of most merchants how the late King (when, by the war between Holland and France and Spain, all the bullion of Spain was brought hither, one-third of it to be coined; and indeed it

was found advantageous to the merchant to coin most of it), was persuaded in a strait, by my Lord Cottington,<sup>1</sup> to seize upon the money in the Tower: which, though in a few days the merchants concerned did prevail to get it released, yet the thing will never be forgot. Sir John Minnes came home tonight, not well, from Chatham, where he hath been at a pay, holding it at Upnor Castle, because of the plague so much in the town of Chatham. He hath, they say, got an ague, being so much on the water.

18th. At my little mercer's, in Lombard Street, who hath the pretty wench, like the old Queen, and there cheapened some stuffs to hang my room that I intend to turn into a closet.

19th. (Lord's day.) Comes by agreement Mr. Reeves, and after him Mr. Spong, and all day with them, both before and after dinner, till ten o'clock at night, upon optic inquiries, he bringing me a frame he closes on, to see how the rays of light do cut one another, and in a dark room with smoke, which is very pretty. He did also bring a lanthorn, with pictures in glass, to make strange things appear on a wall, very pretty. We did also at night see Jupiter and his girdle and satellites, very fine, with my twelve-foot glass, but could not Saturn, he being very dark. Spong and I had also several fine discourses upon the globes this afternoon, particularly why the fixed stars do not rise and set at the same hour all the year long, which he could not demonstrate, nor I neither, the reason of. But it vexed me to understand no more from Reeves and his glasses touching the nature and reason of the several refractions of the several figured glasses, he understanding the acting part, but not one bit the theory, nor can make anybody understand it, which is a strange dullness, methinks.

20th. Waked this morning, about six o'clock, with a violent knocking at Sir J. Minnes's door, to call up Mrs. Hammon, crying out that Sir J. Minnes is a-dying. I saw him on Saturday, after his fit of the ague, and then he was pretty lusty, which troubles me mightily; for he is a very good, harmless, honest gentleman, though not fit for business. To Deptford by water, reading 'Othello, Moor of Venice,' which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play; but, having so lately read 'The Adventures of

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Cottington, a younger son of Philip Cottington, of Godmington, Somerset, was created by Charles I. Lord Cottington, of Hanworth. He became successively one of the clerks of the Council, Chancellor of the Exchequer, ambassador into Spain, and Lord Treasurer of England, under the two elder Stuarts. He died at Valladolid in 1652, *v.p.* and his body was brought to England and interred in Westminster Abbey.

Five Hours,' it seems a mean thing. So home, and all the afternoon upon my Tangier accounts, getting Tom Wilson to help me in writing as I read; and I find myself right to a farthing, in an account of £127,000. This afternoon I visited Sir J. Minnes, who, poor man, is much impatient by this few days' sickness, and I fear indeed it will kill him.

21st. To my mercer's in Lombard Street, and there agreed for our purple serge for my closet. Late at the office, and then home, and there found Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary, and we sat chatting a great while, talking of witches and spirits; and he told me of his own knowledge, being with some others at Bordeaux, making a bargain with another man at a tavern for some clarets, they did hire a fellow to thunder, which he had the art of doing, upon a deal board, and to rain and hail, that is, make the noise of, so as did give them a pretence of undervaluing their merchants' wines, by saying this thunder would spoil and turn them. Which was so reasonable to the merchant, that he did abate two pistoles per ton for the wine, in belief of that.

22d. I to St. James's, and there with the Duke of York. I had opportunity of much talk with Sir W. Pen today, he being newly come from the fleet; and he do much undervalue the honour that is given to the conduct of the late business of Holmes in burning the ships and town,<sup>1</sup> saying it was a great thing indeed, and of great profit to us in being of great loss to the enemy, but that it was wholly a business of chance. I find Sir W. Pen do hold up his head at this time higher than ever he did in his life. I perceive he do look after Sir J. Minnes's place if he dies; and though I love him not nor do desire to have him in, yet I do think he is the first man in England for it. Mrs. Knipp tells me my song of 'Beauty, retire' is mightily cried up, which I am not a little proud of, and do think I have done 'It is decreed' better, but I have not finished it. My closet is doing by upholsterers, which I am pleased with, but fear my purple will be too sad for that melancholy room. After dinner and doing something at the office, I with my wife, Knipp, and Mercer, by coach to Moorfields, and there saw Polichinello, which pleases me mightily. Home, and there find Reeves, and so up to look upon the stars, and do like my glass very well,

<sup>1</sup> The town burned (see 15th August *ante*) was Brandaris, a place of 1,000 houses, on the isle of Schelling: the ships lay between that island and the Fly (i.e. Vlieland), the adjoining island. This attack probably provoked that by the Dutch on Chatham.

and did even with him for it and a little perspective and the lanthorn that shows tricks, altogether costing me £9 5s. 0d.

23d. Sir W. Coventry sent me word that the Dutch fleet is certainly abroad; and so we are to hasten all we have to send to our fleet with all speed. But, Lord! to see how my Lord Brouncker undertakes the despatch of the fire-ships, when he is no more fit for it than a porter; and all the while Sir W. Pen, who is the most fit, is unwilling to displease him, and do not look after it; and so the King's work is like to be well done. At noon dined at home, Lovett with us; but he do not please me in his business, for he keeps things long in hand, and his paper do not hold so good as I expected—the varnish wiping off in a little time—a very sponge; and I doubt by his discourse he is an odd kind of fellow, and, in plain terms, a very rogue.

24th. Comes Sympson, to set up my other new presses for my books, and so he and I fell in to the furnishing of my new closet and taking out the things out of my old. And I kept him with me all day, and he dined with me; and so all the afternoon, till it was quite dark, hanging things, that is, my maps and pictures and drafts, and setting up my books, and as much as we could do, to my most extraordinary satisfaction; so that I think it will be as noble a closet as any man hath, though, indeed, it would have been better to have had a little more light. This afternoon comes Mrs. Barbary Sheldon, now Mrs. Wood, to see my wife: I was so busy, I would not see her. But she come, it seems, mighty rich in rings and fine clothes, and like a lady, and says she is matched mighty well, at which I am very glad, but wonder at her good fortune and the folly of her husband.

26th. (Lord's day.) I was a little disturbed with news my Lord Brouncker brought me, that we are to attend the King at White Hall this afternoon, and that it is about a complaint from the Generals against us. Sir W. Pen and I by coach to White Hall, and there stayed till the King and Cabinet met in the Green Chamber, and then we were called in; and there the King begun with me, to hear how the victuals of the fleet stood. I did, in a long discourse, tell him and the rest, the Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, both the Secretaries, Sir G. Carteret, and Sir W. Coventry, how it stood, wherein they seemed satisfied, but press mightily for more supplies; and the letter of the Generals, which was read, did lay their not going, or too soon returning from the Dutch coast, this next bout, to the want of victuals. They then



proceeded to the inquiry after the fire-ships, and did all very superficially, and without any severity at all. But, however, I was in pain, after we came out, to know how I had done, and hear well enough; but, however, it shall be a caution to me to prepare myself against a day of inquisition. Being come out, I met with Mr. Moore; and he and I an hour together in the Gallery, telling me how far they are gone in getting my Lord Sandwich's pardon, so as the Chancellor is prepared in it; and Sir H. Bennet do promote it, and the warrant for the King's signing is drawn. The business between my Lord Hinchingbroke and Mrs. Mallett is quite broken off; he attended her at Tunbridge, and she declaring her affections to be settled; and he not being fully pleased with the vanity and liberty of her carriage. Thence to discourse of the times; and he tells me he believes both my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry, as well as my Lord Sandwich and Sir G. Carteret, have reason to fear, and are afraid, of this Parliament now coming on. He tells me that Bristol's faction is getting ground apace against my Lord Chancellor. He told me that my old Lord Coventry<sup>1</sup> was a cunning, crafty man, and did make as many bad decrees in Chancery as any man; and that in one case, that occasioned many years' dispute, at last when the King came in, it was hoped by the party grieved to get my Lord Chancellor to reverse a decree of his. Sir W. Coventry took the opportunity of the business between the Duke of York and the Duchess, and said to my Lord Chancellor that he had rather be drawn up Holborn to be hanged, than live to see his father's grave defiled (in these very terms) and any decree of his reversed; and so the Chancellor did not think fit to do it. But it still stands, to the undoing of one Norton, a printer, about his right to the printing of the Bible,<sup>2</sup> and Grammar, &c. Sir J. Minnes had a very bad fit this day, and a hiccough do take him, which is a very bad sign.

27th. Up, and to my new closet. Then to break open a window to the leads' side in my old closet, which will enlighten the room mightily, and make it mighty pleasant. Sir G. Carteret tells me what is done about my Lord's pardon, and is not for letting the Duke of York know anything of it beforehand, but to carry it as

<sup>1</sup> The Lord Keeper: *ob.* 1640.

<sup>2</sup> Roger Norton, of Little Britain, Printer of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew to His Majesty, and one of the patentees in the office of King's Printer, in whom, as well as in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, is still vested the exclusive right of printing the authorized English Versions of the Scriptures. He was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1684. *Ob.* 26th October 1723.

speedily and quietly as we can. He seems to be very apprehensive that the Parliament will be troublesome and inquisitive into faults, but seems not to value them as to himself.

28th. At noon I, with my wife and Mercer, to Philpott Lane, a great cook's shop, to the wedding of Mr. Longracke, our purveyor: a good, sober, civil man, and hath married a sober, serious, maid. Here I met much ordinary company, I going thither at his great request; but there was Mr. Madden and his lady, a fine, noble, pretty lady, and he a fine gentleman seems to be. We four were most together, but the whole company was very simple and innocent. A good dinner and, what was best, good music. After dinner the young women went to dance, among others Mr. Christopher Pett his daughter, who is a very pretty, modest girl: I am mightily taken with her. That being done, we broke up mightily civilly, the bride and bridegroom going to Greenwich, they keeping their dinner here only for my sake. To the office, and anon, on a sudden, called to meet Sir W. Pen and Sir W. Coventry at the Victualling Office. I went, and there Sir William Coventry did read me a letter from the Generals to the King, a most scurvy letter, reflecting most upon Sir W. Coventry, and then upon me for my accounts, not that they are not true, but that we do not consider the expense of the fleet; and then upon the whole Office, in neglecting them and the King's service, and this in very plain and sharp and menacing terms. But a great supply must be made, and shall be, in grace of God!

29th. Found Sir W. Pen talking to Orange Moll, of the King's House, who, to our great comfort, told us that they begun to act on the 18th of this month. So on to St. James's, in the way Sir W. Pen telling me that Mr. Norton, that married Sir J. Lawson's daughter, is dead—she left £800 a year jointure, a son to inherit the whole estate. She freed from her father-in-law's tyranny, and is in condition to help her mother, who needs it; of which I am glad—the young lady being very pretty. To St. James's, and there Sir W. Coventry took Sir W. Pen and me apart, and read to us his answer to the Generals' letter to the King, that he read last night: wherein he is very plain, and states the matter in full defence of himself, and of me with him, which he could not avoid; which is a good comfort to me, that I happened to be involved with him in the same cause. And then, speaking of the supplies which have been made to this fleet, more than ever in all kinds to any, even that wherein the Duke of York himself was, 'Well,' says

he, 'if this will not do, I will say, as Sir J. Falstaff did to the Prince, "Tell your father that if he do not like this, let him kill the next Percy himself."' "

31st. Much pleased today with thoughts of gilding the backs of all my books alike, in all my new presses.

September 1st. My wife and I to Polichinello, but were there horribly frightened to see young Killigrew come in with a great many more young sparks: but we hid ourselves, so as we think they did not see us.

2d. (Lord's day.) Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast today, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose, and slipped on my night-gown and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back side of Mark Lane at the farthest; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off, and so went to bed again, and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was, and further off. So to my closet to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down tonight by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish Street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower; and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's<sup>1</sup> house in Pudding Lane, and that it hath burned St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish Street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that, in a very little time, it got as far as the Steelyard, while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the waterside

<sup>1</sup> His name was Faryner.

to another. And, among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconies, till they, some of them, burned their wings, and fell down. Having staved, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire; and, having seen it get as far as the Steelyard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City; and everything, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches; and, among other things, the poor steeple<sup>1</sup> by which pretty Mrs. — lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down; I to White Hall (with a gentleman with me, who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); and there up to the King's closet in the Chapel, where people came about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw; and that, unless His Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him that if he would have any more soldiers, he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's; and there walked along Watling Street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and, here and there, sick people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Cannon Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message, he cried, like a fainting woman, 'Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses, but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it.' That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home; seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames Street; and warehouses of oil and wines and brandy and other

<sup>1</sup> St. Lawrence Poultry.

things. Here I saw Mr. Isaac Houblon, the handsome man, prettily dressed and dirty, at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brothers' things, whose houses were on fire; and, as he says, have been removed twice already; and he doubts, as it soon proved, that they must be in a little time removed from his house also, which was a sad consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people who themselves should have been quietly there at this time. By this time, it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, who were Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Shelden, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closet and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be. While at dinner, Mrs. Batelier came to enquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes, who, it seems, are related to them, whose houses in Fish Street are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright. Soon as dined, I and Moone away, and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people; and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Cannon Street, which received goods in the morning, into Lombard Street, and further: and, among others, I now saw my little goldsmith Stocks,<sup>1</sup> receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcasse<sup>2</sup> and his brother, whom I met in the street, and carried them below and above bridge to and again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhithe, and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Botolph's Wharf below, bridge, if care be used; but

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Stocks, at the Black Horse in Lombard Street.

<sup>2</sup> James Carcasse, who is again frequently mentioned, was a clerk in the office for issuing tickets to the seamen.

the wind carries it into the City, so as we know not, by the water-side, what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water; and only, I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of virginals in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I away to White Hall by appointment, and there walked to St. James's Park; and there met my wife and Creed, and Wood and his wife, and walked to my boat; and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still increasing, and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke; and all over the Thames, with one's face in the wind, you were almost burned with a shower of fire-drops. This is very true: so as houses were burned by these drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay, five or six houses, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little alchouse on the Bankside, over against the Three Cranes, and there stayed till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow; and, as it grew darker, appeared more and more; and in corners and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the City, in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. Barbary and her husband away before us. We stayed till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long: it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire, and flaming at once; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruin. So home with a sad heart, and there find everybody discouraging and lamenting the fire; and poor Tom Hater came with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which was burned upon Fish Street Hill. I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods; but was deceived in his lying there, the news coming every moment of the growth of the fire; so as we were forced to begin to pack up our own goods, and prepare for their removal; and did by moonshine (it being brave, dry, and moonshine and warm weather) carry much of my goods into the garden; and Mr. Hater and I did remove my money and iron chests into my cellar, as thinking that the safest place, And got my bags of gold into my office, ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallies into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as Sir W. Batten hath carts come out of the country to fetch away his goods this night. We did put Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Stocks, at the Black Horse in Lombard Street.

<sup>2</sup> James Carcasse, who is again frequently mentioned, was a clerk in the office for issuing tickets to the seamen.

so few, that it was the afternoon before we could get them all away. Sir W. Pen and I to the Tower Street, and there met the fire burning, three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trays and dishes, shovels, &c., were flung all along Tower Street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other; the fire coming on in that narrow street, on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put our wine in it; and I my Parmesan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things. The Duke of York was at the office this day, at Sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Pen in our garden, and thinking of the certain burning of this office, without extraordinary means, I did propose for the sending up of all our workmen from the Woolwich and Deptford yards, none whereof yet appeared, and to write to Sir W. Coventry to have the Duke of York's permission to pull down houses, rather than lose this office, which would much hinder the King's business. So Sir W. Pen went down this night, in order to the sending them up tomorrow morning; and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business,<sup>1</sup> but received no answer. This night Mrs. Turner (who, poor woman, was removing her goods all this day, good goods, into the garden, and knows not how to dispose of them) and her husband supped with my wife and me at night, in the office, upon a shoulder of mutton from the cook's without any napkin,

<sup>1</sup> The letter, among the Pepys MSS., was as follows:

Sir,—The fire is now very near us, as well on Tower Street, as Fenchurch Street side, and we little hope of our escape but by that remedy, to the want whereof we do certainly owe the loss of the City, namely, the pulling down of houses in the way of the fire. This way Sir W. Pen and myself have so far concluded upon the practising, that he is gone to Woolwich and Deptford to supply himself with men and necessaries in order to the doing thereof; in case, at his return, our condition be not bettered, and that he meets with his R. H's approbation, which I have thus undertaken to learn of you. Pray please to let me have this night, at whatever hour it is, what his R. H's directions are in this particular. Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten having left us, we cannot add, though we are well assured of their, as well as all the neighbourhood's concurrence.

Yr obedient Servant,

S. P.

Sir W. Coventry,  
Sept<sup>r</sup>. 4, 1666.



or anything, in a sad manner, but were merry. Only, now and then walking into the garden, saw how horridly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, was enough to put us out of our wits; and, indeed, it was extremely dreadful, for it looks just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven on fire. I after supper walked in the dark down to Tower Street, and there saw it all on fire, at the Trinity House on that side, and the Dolphin tavern on this side, which was very near us; and the fire with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower Street, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than anything; but it stopped the fire where it was done, it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost. W. Hewer this day went to see how his mother did, and comes late home, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in Pye Corner being burned; so that the fire is got so far that way, and all the Old Bailey, and was running down to Fleet Street; and Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my father this night, but the post-house being burned, the letter could not go.

5th. I lay down in the office again upon W. Hewer's quilt, being mightily weary and sore in my feet with going, till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning my wife calls me up, and tells me of new cries of fire, it being come to Barking church, which is the bottom of our lane.<sup>1</sup> I up; and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away, and did, and took my gold, which was about £2350, W. Hewer, and Jane down by Proundy's boat to Woolwich. But, Lord! what a sad sight it was by moonlight, to see the whole City almost on fire, that you might see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There, when I came, I find the gates shut, but no guard kept at all; which troubled me, because of discourses now begun, that there is a plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr. Sheldon's, where I locked up my gold, and charged my wife and W. Hewer never to leave the room without one of them in it, night or day. So back again, by the way seeing my goods well in the lighters at Deptford, and watched well by people. Home, and whereas I expected to have seen our house on fire, it being now about seven o'clock, it was not. But to the fire, and there find greater hopes than I expected; for my confidence of finding our office on fire was such,

<sup>1</sup> Scething Lane.

that I durst not ask anybody how it was with us, till I came and saw it was not burned. But, going to the fire, I find, by the blowing up of houses and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well as at Mark Lane end as ours; it having only burned the dial of Barking church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw: everywhere great fires, oil-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning. I became afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to Sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten<sup>1</sup> nothing since Sunday, but the remains of Sunday's dinner. Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler; and, having removed all my things and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and Lombard Street all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Walked into Moorfields, our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coals, and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and everybody keeping his goods together by themselves; and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day. Drunk there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate market, all burned, and seen Anthony Joyce's<sup>2</sup> house in fire, and took up, which I keep by me, a piece of glass of Mercers' chapel in the street, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire like parchment. I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in a chimney, joining to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burnt off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight: though, when I rose, I heard that there had been a great alarm of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did

<sup>1</sup> He forgot the shoulder of mutton from the cook's the day before.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Joyce kept the Three Stags at Holborn Conduit, which appears from a token issued by him, and described by Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, p. 105.

look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week.

6th. Up about five o'clock, and met Mr. Gauden at the gate of the office (I intending to go out, as I used every now and then, today, to see how the fire is) to call our men to Bishopsgate, where no fire had yet been near, and there is now one broke out: which did give great grounds to people, and to me too, to think that there is some kind of plot in this, on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets: but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time, so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the canals, sweeping of water; but then they would scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people go and take handfuls out, and put into beer, and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwark; and took boat on the other side the bridge, and so to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom. But could not there find any place to buy a shirt or a pair of gloves, Westminster Hall being full of people's goods, those in Westminster having removed all their goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch.<sup>1</sup> But to the Swan, and there was trimmed: and then to White Hall, but saw nobody, and so home. A sad sight to see how the river looks: no houses nor church near it to the Temple, where it stopped. At home, did go with Sir W. Batten and our neighbour, Knightly (who, with one more, was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood thereabouts, they all removing their goods, and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire), to Sir R. Ford's, and there dined in an earthen platter—a fried breast of mutton; a great many of us, but very merry, and indeed as good a meal, though as ugly a one, as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction landed all my goods at Sir G. Carteret's safe, and nothing missed I could see, or hurt. This being done to my great content, I home, and to Sir W. Batten's, and there, with Sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightly, and one Withers, a professed lying rogue, supped well, and mighty merry, and our fears over. From them to the office, and there slept with the office full of labourers, who talked, and slept, and walked all night long there. But

<sup>1</sup> Near Epsom, where the Exchequer had been kept during the plague.

that I durst not ask anybody how it was with us, till I came and saw it was not burned. But, going to the fire, I find, by the blowing up of houses and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well as at Mark Lane end as ours; it having only burned the dial of Barking church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw: everywhere great fires, oil-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning. I became afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to Sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten<sup>1</sup> nothing since Sunday, but the remains of Sunday's dinner. Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler; and, having removed all my things and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and Lombard Street all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Walked into Moorfields, our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coals, and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and everybody keeping his goods together by themselves; and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day. Drunk there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate market, all burned, and seen Anthony Joyce's<sup>2</sup> house in fire, and took up, which I keep by me, a piece of glass of Mercers' chapel in the street, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire like parchment. I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in a chimney, joining to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burnt off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight: though, when I rose, I heard that there had been a great alarm of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did

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hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time into a naked bed, only my drawers on; and did sleep pretty well: but still both sleeping and waking had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all the world over cry out of the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in general; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him. A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall and Mile-end Green and several other places about the town; and Tower Hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people.

8th. With Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by water to White Hall, and they to St. James's. I stopped with Sir G. Carteret to desire him to go with us, and to enquire after money. But the first he cannot do, and the other as little, or says, 'when we can get any, or what shall we do for it?' He, it seems, is employed in the correspondence between the City and the King every day in settling of things. I find him full of trouble, to think how things will go. I left him, and to St. James's, where we met first at Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there did what business we can, without any books. Our discourse, as everything else, was confused. The fleet is at Portsmouth, there staying a wind to carry them to the Downs, or towards Boulogne, where they say the Dutch fleet is gone, and stays. We concluded upon private meetings for a while, not having any money to satisfy any people that may come to us. I bought two eels upon the Thames, cost me six shillings. Thence with Sir W. Batten to the Cockpit, whither the Duke of Albemarle is come. It seems the King holds him so necessary at this time, that he hath sent for him, and will keep him here. Indeed, his interest in the City, being acquainted, and his care in keeping things quiet, is reckoned that wherein he will be very serviceable. We to him: he is courted in appearance by everybody. He very kind to us; and I perceive he lays by all business of the fleet at present, and minds the City, and is now hastening to Gresham College, to discourse with the Aldermen. Sir W. Batten and I home, where met by my brother John, come to town to see how things are with us and then presently he with me to Gresham College, where infinity of people, partly through novelty to see the new place, and partly to find out and hear what is become one man of another. I met with many people undone, and more that have extraordinary great losses. People speaking their thoughts variously about the beginning of the fire and the rebuilding of the City. Then to Sir W. Batten's, and took my

brother with me, and there dined with a great company of neighbours, and much good discourse; among others, of the low spirits of some rich men in the City, in sparing any encouragement to the poor people that wrought for the saving their houses. Among others, Alderman Starling, a very rich man, without children, the fire at next door to him in our lane, after our men had saved his house, did give 2*s.* 6*d.* among thirty of them, and did quarrel with some that would remove the rubbish out of the way of the fire, saying that they came to steal. Sir W. Coventry told me of another this morning in Holborn, which he showed the King: that when it was offered to stop the fire near his house for such a reward that came but to 2*s.* 6*d.* a man among the neighbours, he would give but 18*d.* Thence to Bethnal Green by coach, my brother with me, and saw all well there, and fetched away my journal-book, to enter for five days past. I was much frightened and kept awake in my bed, by some noise I heard a great while below stairs, and the boys not coming up to me when I knocked. It was by their discovery of some people stealing of some neighbours' wine that lay in vessels in the streets. So to sleep; and all well all night.

9th. (Sunday.) Up, and was trimmed, and sent my brother to Woolwich to my wife, to dine with her. I to church, where our parson made a melancholy but good sermon; and many and most in the church cried, specially the women. The church mighty full; but few of fashion, and most strangers. I walked to Bethnal Green, and there dined well, but a bad venison pasty, at Sir W. Rider's. Good people they are, and good discourse, and his daughter Middleton a fine woman, discreet. Thence home, and to church again, and there preached Dean Harding;<sup>1</sup> but, methinks, a bad, poor sermon, though proper for the time; nor eloquent, in saying at this time that the City is reduced from a large folio to a decimo-tertio. So to my office, there to write down my journal and take leave of my brother, whom I send back this afternoon, though rainy; which it hath not done a good while before. But I had no room or convenience for him here till my house is fitted; but I was very kind to him, and do take very well of him his journey. I did give him 40*s.* for his pocket, and so, he being gone, and it presently raining, I was troubled for him, though it is good for the fire. Anon to Sir W. Pen's to bed, and made my boy Tom to read me asleep.

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Hardy, Dean of Rochester.

10th. All the morning clearing our cellars, and breaking in pieces all my old lumber, to make room and to prevent fire. And then to Sir W. Batten's, and dined; and there hear that Sir W. Rider says that the town is full of the report of the wealth that is in his house, and he would be glad that his friends would provide for the safety of their goods there. This made me get a cart; and thither, and there brought my money all away. Took a hackney coach myself, the hackney coaches now standing at Aldgate. Much wealth indeed there is at his house. Blessed be God! I got all mine well thence, and lodged it in my office; but vexed to have all the world to see it. And with Sir W. Batten, who would have taken away my hands before they were stowed. But by and by comes brother Balty from sea, which I was glad of; and so got him and Mr. Tooker and the boy to watch with them all in the office all night, while I went down to my wife to Woolwich, and there find my wife out of humour and indifferent, as she uses upon her having much liberty abroad.

11th. By water with my gold, and laid it with the rest in my office. In the evening at Sir W. Pen's, with my wife, at supper: he in a mad, ridiculous, drunken humour; and it seems there have been some late distances between his lady and him, as my wife tells me. After supper I home, and with Mr. Hater, Gibson,<sup>1</sup> and Tom alone, got all my chests and money into the further cellar with much pains, but great content to me when done. So very late and weary to bed.

12th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to St. James's by water, and there did our usual business with the Duke of York. After dinner to Deptford, and then, by the bezan, loaded above half my goods and sent them away.

13th. Up, and down to Tower Wharf; and there, with Balty and labourers from Deptford, did get my goods housed well at home. So down to Deptford again, to fetch the rest, and there eat a bit of dinner at the Globe, with the master of the bezan with me, while the labourers went to dinner. Here I hear that this poor town do bury still of the plague seven or eight in a day. So to Sir G. Carteret's to work, and there did, to my content, ship off into the bezan all the rest of my goods, saving my pictures and fine things, that I will bring home in wherries, when the house is fit to receive them: and so home, and unload them by carts and hands

<sup>1</sup> Richard Gibson was the king's agent at Port Mahon. His correspondence with Pepys is in Rawlinson, A 174.

before night, to my exceeding satisfaction. And so, after supper, to bed in my house, the first time I have lain there; and lay with my wife in my old closet upon the ground, and Balty and his wife in the best chamber, upon the ground also.

14th. Up, and to work, having carpenters come to help in setting up bedsteads and hangings; and at that trade my people and I all the morning, till pressed by public business to leave them against my will in the afternoon. And yet I was troubled in being at home, to see all my goods lie up and down the house in a bad condition; and strange workmen, going to and fro, might take what they would almost. All the afternoon busy; and Sir W. Coventry came to me, and found me, as God would have it, in my office, and people about me setting my papers to rights; and there discoursed about getting an account ready against the Parliament, and thereby did create me infinite of business, and to be done on a sudden; which troubled me: but, however, he being gone, I about it late, and to good purpose. And so home, having this day, also, got my wine out of the ground again, and set in my cellar; but with great pain to keep the porters that carried it in from observing the money-chests there. This day poor Tom Pepys, the turner, was with me, and Kate Joyce, to bespeak places—one for himself, the other for her husband: she tells me he hath lost £140 per annum, but hath seven houses left.

15th. Wrote near thirty letters and orders with my own hand. At it till eleven at night; and it is strange to see how clear my head was, being eased of all the matter of all these letters, whereas one would think that I should have been dazed. I never did observe so much of myself in my life. In the evening there comes to me Captain Cocke, and walked a good while in the garden. He says he hath computed that the rents of the houses lost this fire in the City comes to £600,000 per annum; that this will make the Parliament more quiet than otherwise they would have been, and give the King a more ready supply; that the supply must be by excise, as it is in Holland; that the Parliament will see it necessary to carry on the war; that the late storm hindered our beating the Dutch fleet, who were gone out only to satisfy the people, having no business to do but avoid us; that the French, as late in the year as it is, are coming; that the Dutch are really in bad condition, but that this unhappiness of ours do give them heart: that there was a late difference between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry about neglect in the latter to send away an express of the other's



in time; that it came before the King, and the Duke of York concerned himself in it; but this fire hath stopped it. The Dutch fleet is not gone home, but rather to the North, and so dangerous to our Gothenburg fleet. That the Parliament is likely to fall foul upon some persons; and, among others, on the Vice-chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> though, we both believe, with little ground. That certainly never so great a loss as this was borne so well by citizens in the world; he believing that not one merchant upon the 'Change will break upon it. That he do not apprehend there will be any disturbances in State upon it, for that all men are busy in looking after their own business to save themselves. He gone, I to finish my letters, and home to bed; and find, to my infinite joy, many rooms clean: and myself and wife lie in our own chamber again. But much terrified in the nights, nowadays, with dreams of fire and falling down of houses.

16th. (Lord's day.) At noon with my wife, against her will, all undressed and dirty, dined at Sir W. Pen's, where was all the company of our families in town: but, Lord! so sorry a dinner—venison baked in pans—that the dinner I have had for his lady alone hath been worth four of it.

17th. Up betimes, and shaved myself after a week's growth: but, Lord! how ugly I was yesterday, and how fine today! By water, seeing the City all the day—a sad sight indeed, much fire being still in. Sir W. Coventry was in great pain lest the French fleet should be passed by our fleet, who had notice of them on Saturday, and were preparing to go meet them; but their minds altered, and judged them merchant-men; when, the same day, the Success, Captain Ball, made their whole fleet, and came to Bright-helmstone, and thence at five o'clock afternoon, Saturday, wrote Sir W. Coventry news thereof; so that we do much fear our missing them. Here came in and talked with him Sir Thomas Clifford,<sup>2</sup> who appears a very fine gentleman, and much set by at Court for his activity in going to sea, and stoutness everywhere, and stirring up and down.

18th. It was a sad, rainy, and tempestuous night. I did my business in the afternoon, in forwarding the settling of my house,

<sup>1</sup> Sir G. Carteret.

<sup>2</sup> Eldest son of Hugh Clifford, of Ughborough, M.P. for Totnes, 1660, and knighted for his conduct in the sea fight of 1665. After filling several high offices he was, in 1672, created Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, and constituted High Treasurer; which place he resigned the following year, a few months before his death.

very well. Troubled at my wife's hair coming off so much. This day the Parliament met, and adjourned till Friday, when the King will be with them.

19th. To St. James's, and did our usual business before the Duke of York; which signified little, our business being only complaints of lack of money. Here I saw a bastard of the late King of Sweden's come to kiss his hands; a mighty roodish, French-like gentleman. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, to Wilkes's: and there did hear many stories of Sir Henry Wood,<sup>1</sup> about Lord Norwich drawing a tooth at a health. Another time, he and Pinchbeck and Dr. Goffe,<sup>2</sup> now a religious man, Pinchbeck did begin a frolic to drink out of a glass with a toad in it: he did it without harm. Goffe, who knew sack would kill the toad, called for sack; and, when he saw it dead, says he, 'I will have a quick toad, and will not drink from a dead toad.' By that means, no other being to be found, he escaped the health. To Deptford, and got all my pictures put into wherries, and my other fine things, and landed them all very well, and brought them home, and got Synpson to set them all up tonight. I and the boy to finish and set up my books and everything else in my house till two in the morning, and then to bed; but mightily troubled, and even in my sleep, by missing four or five of my biggest books, Speed's Chronicle and Maps, and the two parts of Waggoner,<sup>3</sup> and a book of cards [charts]. Two little pictures of sea and ships, and a little gilt frame belonging to my plate of the River, I want; but my books do heartily trouble me. Most of my gilt frames are hurt. This day I put on two shirts, the first time this year, and do grow well upon it; so that my disease is nothing but wind.

20th. To Sir G. Carteret: he tells me how the fleet is come into the Downs. Nothing done, nor French fleet seen: we drove all from our anchors. But he says news is come that De Ruyter is dead, or very near it, of a hurt in his mouth, upon the discharge of one of his own guns; which put him into a fever, and he likely to die, if not already dead. In the afternoon, out by coach, my wife

<sup>1</sup> Clerk of the Spicery to Charles I; and, after the Restoration, clerk to the Board of Green Cloth.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Stephen Goffe, clerk of the Queen's Closet, and her Assistant Confessor. He had been chaplain to Colonel Goring; but became, in 1641, a Roman Catholic.—Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. i, p. 19, edition 1850.

<sup>3</sup> Waghenae's *Speculum Nauticum*, published at Leyden in 1585; and translated into English by Anthony Ashley about the year 1588.

with me, through all the ruins, to show her them, which frets her much, and it is a sad sight, indeed. To the office, to even my journal, and then home. She did give me an account of great differences between her mother and Balty's wife. The old woman charges her with going abroad and staying out late, and painting in the absence of her husband, and I know not what. And they grow proud, both he and she, and do not help their father and mother out of what I help them to, which I do not like, nor my wife.

21st. W. Hewer tells me that Sir W. Pen hath a hamper more than his own, which he took for a hamper of bottles of wine, and are books in it. I was impatient to see it, but they were carried into a wine cellar. I sent for Harry, and he brought me, by and by, my hamper of books, to my great joy, with the same books I missed, and three more great ones, and I did give him 5s. for his pains. The Parliament meet today, and the King to be with them. At the office, about our accounts, which now draw near the time they should be ready, the House having ordered Sir G. Carteret, upon his offering them, to bring them in on Saturday next. Home, and there, with great pleasure, very late new setting all my books; and now I am in as good condition as I desire to be in all worldly respects. The Lord of Heaven make me thankful, and continue me therein!

22d. My house is so clean as I never saw it, or any other house, in my life, and everything in as good condition as ever before the fire; but with about £20 cost, one way or other, besides about £20 charge in removing my goods, and do not find that I have lost anything but two little pictures of ships and sea, and a little gold frame for one of my sea-cards. My glazier, indeed, is so full of work, that I cannot get him to come to perfect my house. In the afternoon I paid for the two lighters that carried my goods to Deptford, and they cost me £8.

23d. (Lord's day.) My house being so clean makes me mightily pleased; but only I do lack Mercer or somebody in the house to sing with. Mr. Wayth and I by water to White Hall, and there at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings Sir W. Coventry met, and we did debate the whole business of our accounts to the Parliament; where it appears to us that the charge of the war from September 1st, 1664, to this Michaelmas, will have been but £3,200,000; and we have paid, in that time, somewhat about £2,200,000; so that we owe above £900,000. But our method of accounting, though it cannot, I believe, be far wide from the mark, yet will not abide a

strict examination if the Parliament should be troublesome. Here happened a pretty question of Sir W. Coventry, whether this account of ours will not put my Lord Treasurer to a difficulty to tell what is become of all the money the Parliament have given in this time for the war, which hath amounted to about £4,000,000. which nobody there could answer; but I perceive they did doubt what his answer could be. My wife and I for pleasure to Foxhall, and there eat and drank, and so back home, and I to the office till night drawing the letter we are to send with our account to my Lord Treasurer.

24th. To St. James's, and up and down to look for Sir W. Coventry; and at last found him and Sir G. Carteret with the Lord Treasurer at White Hall, consulting how to make up my Lord Treasurer's general account, as well as that of the Navy particularly. Found that Sir G. Carteret had altered his account since he did give me the abstract of it: so all my letter must be writ over again. So to Sir G. Carteret, to speak a little about the alteration; and there, looking over the book Sir G. Carteret intends to deliver to the Parliament of his payments since September 1st, 1664, I find my name the very second for flags, which I had bought for the Navy, of calico, once, about 500 and odd pounds, which vexed me mightily. At last I concluded of scraping out my name and putting in Mr. Tooker's, which eased me; though the price was such as I should have had glory by. Here I saw my Lady Carteret lately come to town, who, good lady! is mighty kind, and I must make much of her.

25th. With all my people to get the letter writ over about the Navy's accounts; and by coach to my Lord Brouncker's, and got his hand to it; and then to the Parliament House, and got it signed by the rest; and then delivered it at the House-door to Sir Philip Warwick, Sir G. Carteret being gone into the House with his book of accounts under his arm, to present to the House. With Ned Pickering, who continues still a lying bragging coxcomb, telling me that my Lord Sandwich may thank himself for all his misfortune; for not suffering him and two or three good honest fellows more to take them by the throats that spoke ill of him, and told me how basely Lionel Walden<sup>1</sup> hath carried himself towards my Lord, by speaking slightly of him, which I shall remember. All night still mightily troubled in my sleep, with fire and houses pulling down.

<sup>1</sup> M.P. for Huntingdon.

26th. At Benner's, our late mercer, who is come into Covent Garden, to a fine house, looking down upon the Exchange; and I perceive many Londoners every day come; and Mr. Pierce hath let his wife's closet and the little blind bed-chamber and a garret to a silk-man for<sup>a</sup> £50 fine, and £30 per annum, and £40 per annum more for dieting the master and two 'prentices. By Mr. Dugdale<sup>1</sup> I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Church-yard, and at their Hall also, which they value at about £150,000; some booksellers being wholly undone, and among others, they say, my poor Kirton. And Mr. Crumlum, all his books and household stuff burned: they trusting to St. Faith's, and, the roof of the church falling, broke the arch down into the lower church, and so all the goods burned. A very great loss. His father<sup>2</sup> hath lost above £1000 in books; one book newly printed, a Discourse, it seems, of Courts. Here I had the hap to see my Lady Denham: and at night went into the dining-room, and saw several fine ladies; among others, Castlemaine, but chiefly Denham again: and the Duke of York, taking her aside and talking to her in the sight of all the world, all alone; which was strange, and what I also did not like. Here I met with good Mr. Evelyn, who cries out against it, and calls it bitchering: for the Duke of York talks a little to her, and then she goes away, and then he follows her again like a dog. He observes that none of the nobility come out of the country at all, to help the King, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire, but do as if the King were nobody: nor ne'er a priest comes to give the King and Court good counsel, or to comfort the poor people that suffer; but all is dead, nothing of good in any of their minds: he bemoans it, and says he fears more ruin hangs over our heads. My wife tells me she hath bought a gown of 15s. per yard; the same, before her face, my Lady Castlemaine this day bought also, which I seemed vexed for, though I do not grudge it her, but to incline her to have Mercer again; but the girl, I hear, has no mind to come to us again, which vexes me. Our business was tendered to the House today, and a Committee of the whole House chosen to examine our accounts, and a great many Hotspurs enquiring into it. Sir W. Pen proposes his and my looking out into Scotland about timber, and to use Pett there; for timber will

<sup>1</sup> John Dugdale, Chief Gentleman of the Chamber to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and afterwards Windsor Herald. He died in 1700.

<sup>2</sup> William Dugdale, then Norroy Herald, knighted in 1677, and made Garter King-of-Arms. The work alluded to was the *Origines Juridicales*.

be a good commodity this time of building the City. Our fleet abroad, and the Dutch too, for all we know—the weather very bad; and under the command of an unlucky man, I fear. God bless him, and the fleet under him!

27th. A very furious blowing night all the night; and my mind still mightily perplexed with dreams, and burning the rest of the town; and waking in much pain for the fleet. I to look out Penny, my tailor, to speak for a cloak and cassock for my brother, who is coming to town: and I will have him in a canonical dress, that he may be the fitter to go abroad with me. I then to the Exchequer, and there, among other things, spoke to Mr. Falconbridge about his girl I heard sing at Nonsuch, and took him and some other Exchequer men to the Sun tavern, and there spent 2s. 6d. upon them; and he sent for the girl, and she has a pretty way of singing, but has almost forgot for want of practice. She is poor in clothes and not bred to any carriage, but will soon be taught all; and if Mercer do not come again, I think we may have her upon better terms and breed her to what we please. To Sir W. Coventry's, and there dined with him and Sir W. Batten, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and Mr. Thynne,<sup>1</sup> a pretty gentleman, going to Gothenburg. No news of the fleet yet, but that they went by Dover on the 25th towards the Gunfleet: but whether the Dutch be yet abroad or no, we hear not. De Ruyter is not dead, but like to do well. Most think that the gross of the French fleet are gone home again.

28th. Lay long in bed, and am come to agreement with my wife to have Mercer again on condition she may learn this winter two months to dance; and she promises me she will endeavour to learn to sing. So up, and by and by the glazier comes to finish the windows of my house, which pleases me, and the bookbinder to gild the backs of my books. I got the glass of my book-presses to be done presently, which did mightily content me. Sir W. Pen broke to me a proposition of his and my joining in a design of fetching timber and deals from Scotland, by the help of Mr. Pett upon the place: which, while London is building, will yield good money. I approve it. At night I discoursed with W. Hewer

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Thynne, Envoy Extraordinary to Sweden. He was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Thynne, Bart., of Kempsford, by Mary, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Coventry; and on the murder of his cousin, Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, succeeded to all his possessions. In 1682 he was created Viscount Weymouth, and died in 1714, *æt.* 74.

about Mercer, having a great mind she should come to us again, and instructed him what to say to her mother about it.

29th. Sir W. Coventry and I find, to our great joy, that the wages, victuals, wear and tear, cast by the medium of the men, will come to above £3,000,000; and that the extraordinaries, which all the world will allow us, will arise to more than will justify the expense we have declared to have been at since the war, viz. £320,000.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where I have not been a good while: and there the church infinitely thronged with strangers, since the fire came into our parish; but not one handsome face in all of them, as if, indeed, there was a curse, as Bishop Fuller heretofore said, upon our parish. Here I saw Mercer come into the church, but she avoided looking up, which vexed me. Home, and a good dinner; and then to have my hair cut against winter close to my head, and then to church again. A sorry sermon, and then away home. This month ends with my mind full of business and concernment how this Office will speed with the Parliament, which begins to be mighty severe in the examining our accounts, and the expense of the Navy this war.

October 1st. All the morning at the office, getting the list of all the ships and vessels employed since the war, for the Committee of Parliament. I to White Hall, and there did hear Betty Michell was at this end of the town, and so did stay to endeavour to meet with her and carry her home; but she did not come. But pretty! how I took another woman for her, taking her a clap on the breech. So away home, and my wife do tell me that W. Hewer tells her that Mercer has no mind to come. So I was angry at it, and resolved with her to have Falconbridge's girl; and I think it will be better for us, and will please me better with singing.

2d. Sir G. Carteret tells me how our lists are referred to a Subcommittee to consider and examine, and that I am ordered to be there this afternoon. With Sir W. Pen to White Hall, and do give his boy my book of papers to hold while I walked with Mr. Slingsby, of the Tower, who did inform me mightily in several things—among others, that the heightening or lowering of money is only a cheat, and do good to some particular men, which if I can but remember how, I am now by him fully convinced of. Into the Committee-chamber before the Committee sat, and there heard Birch discourse highly and understandingly about the Navy business, and a proposal made heretofore to farm the Navy; but

Sir W. Coventry did abundantly answer him, and is a most excellent person. By and by the Committee met, and appointed me to attend them tomorrow, to examine our lists. This put me into a mighty fear and trouble—they doing it in a very ill humour, methought. When come home, I to Sir W. Pen's, to his boy, for my book, and there find he hath it not; but delivered it to the door-keeper of the Committee for me. This, added to my former disgust, made me stark mad, considering all the nakedness of the office lay open, in papers within those covers. I could not tell in the world what to do, but was mad on all sides; and, that which made me worse, Captain Cocke was there, and he did so curse and swear at the boy. But, coming to our rendezvous at the Swan tavern, in King Street, I found they have found the housekeeper, and the book simply locked up in the Court. So I stayed and drank, and rewarded the door-keeper, and away home, my heart lighter by all this, but to bed very sad notwithstanding, in fear of what will happen tomorrow.

3d. Waked betimes, mightily troubled in mind, and in the most true trouble that I ever was in my life, saving in the business last year of the East India prizes. So up; and, by and by, by eight o'clock comes Birch the first, with the list and books of accounts delivered in. He calls me to work, and there he and I begun; when, by and by, comes Garraway,<sup>1</sup> the first time I ever saw him, and Sir W. Thompson and Mr. Boscawen. They to it, and I did make shift to answer them better than I expected. Sir W. Batten, Lord Brouncker, and W. Pen came in, but presently went out: and J. Minnes came in, and said two or three words from the purpose but to do hurt; and so away he went also, and left me all the morning with them alone to stand or fall. After dinner to work again, only the Committee and I, till dark night; and it ended with good peace and much seeming satisfaction; but I find them wise and reserved, and instructed to hit all our blots. To White Hall, and there among the ladies, and saw my Lady Castlemaine never looked so ill, nor Mrs. Stuart neither, as in this plain natural dress. I was not pleased with either of them. Home and there find my father and my brother come to town—my father without any expectation, but glad I am to see him. And so to supper with him, and to work again at the office. Then home, to

<sup>1</sup> He was an M.P., and appointed by the House to confer with Lord Shaftesbury respecting the charge against Pepys being popishly affected.



about Mercer, having a great mind she should come to us again, and instructed him what to say to her mother about it.

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that Mr. Kirton is utterly undone, and made 2 or £3,000 worse than nothing, from being worth 7 or £8,000. That the goods laid in the Church-yard fired through the windows those in St. Faith's church; and those coming to the warehouses' doors fired them, and burned all the books and the pillars of the church, so as the roof, falling down, broke quite down; which it did not do in the other places of the church, which is alike pillared, which I knew not before; but, being not burned, they stand still. He do believe there is above £150,000 of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone: not only these, but their warehouses at their Hall and under Christ Church, and elsewhere, being all burned. A great want thereof there will be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books; and, among others, the Polyglots<sup>1</sup> and new Bible, which he believes will be presently worth £40 apiece.

6th. Up, and, having seen my brother in his cassock, which I am not the most satisfied in, being doubtful at this time what course to have him profess to soon, to the office. To St. James's, and there Sir W. Coventry and I fell to talk of our sad condition by want of a Comptroller:<sup>2</sup> and it was his words, that he believes, besides all the shame and trouble he hath brought on the office, the King had better have given £100,000 than ever have had him there. He did discourse about some of these discontented Parliament-men, and says that Birch is a false rogue: but that Garraway is a man that hath not been well used by the Court, though very stout to death, and hath suffered all that is possible for the King from the beginning. But, discontented as he is, yet he never knew a Session of Parliament but he hath done some good deed for the King before it rose. I told him the passage Cocke told me of—his having begged a brace of bucks of the Lord Arlington for him: and, when they came to him, he sent them back again. Sir W. Coventry told me it is much to be pitied that the King should lose the service of a man so able and faithful: and that he ought to be brought over, but that it is always observed that by bringing over

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Walton's great work, published 1654-7, entitled *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, in six large folio volumes. Nine languages are used in it, though no one book of the Bible is printed in so many. It was printed by subscription, under the patronage of Oliver Cromwell; but the Protector dying before it was finished, the bishop cancelled two leaves on the preface, commendatory, of his patron, and others were printed complimentary to Charles II. Hence the distinction of *republican* and *loyal* copies. The former are the most valued.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Minnes performing the duties inefficiently.

one discontented man you raise up three in his room: which is a State lesson I never knew before. But when others discover you fear, and that discontent procures favour, they will be discontented too, and impose on you. This morning my wife told me of a fine gentlewoman my Lady Pen tells her of, for £20 per annum, that sings, dances, plays on four or five instruments, and many other fine things, which pleases me mightily: and she sent to have her see her, which she did this afternoon, but sings basely, and is a tawdry wench that would take £8—but neither my wife nor I think her fit to come.

7th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, where met by Sir W. Batten and Lord Brouncker, to attend the King and Duke of York at the Cabinet; but nobody had determined what to speak of, but only in general to ask for money. So I was forced immediately to prepare in my mind a method of discoursing. And anon we were called in to the Green Room, where the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Duke of Albemarle, Sirs G. Carteret, W. Coventry, Morrice. Nobody beginning, I did, and made a current, and, I thought, a good speech, laying open the ill state of the Navy by the greatness of the debt, greatness of the work to do against next year, the time and materials it would take, and our incapacity through a total want of money. I had no sooner done, but Prince Rupert rose up, and told the King in a heat that whatever the gentleman had said, he had brought home his fleet in as good a condition as ever any fleet was brought home; that twenty boats would be as many as the fleet would want: and all the anchors and cables left in the storm might be taken up again. This arose from my saying, among other things we had to do, that the fleet was come in—the greatest fleet that ever his Majesty had yet together—and that in as bad condition as the enemy or weather could put it; and, to use Sir W. Pen's words, who is upon the place taking a survey, he dreads the reports he is to receive from the Surveyors of its defects. I therefore did only answer that I was sorry for his Highness's offence, but that what I said was but the report we received from those entrusted in the fleet to inform us. He muttered, and repeated what he had said; and so, after a long silence on all hands, nobody, not so much as the Duke of Albemarle, seconding the Prince nor taking notice of what he said, we withdrew. I was not a little troubled at this passage, and the more when speaking with Jack Fenn about it, he told me that the Prince will be asking now who this Pepys is, and

find him to be a creature of my Lord Sandwich's, and therefore this was done only to disparage him. Anon they broke up, and Sir W. Coventry came out: so I asked his advice. He told me he had said something to salve it, which was, that his Highness had, he believed, rightly informed the King that the fleet is come in good condition to have stayed out yet longer and have fought the enemy, but yet that Mr. Pepys his meaning might be that, though in so good condition, if they should come in and lie all the winter, we shall be very loth to send them to sea for another year's service without great repairs. He said it would be no hurt if I went to him, and showed him the report himself brought up from the fleet, where every ship, by the Commander's report, do need more or less, and not to mention more of Sir W. Pen for doing him a mischief. So I said I would, but do not think that all this will rebound to my hurt, because the truth of what I said will soon appear. Thence, having been informed that, after all this pains, the King hath found out how to supply us with 5 or £6,000, when £100,000 were at this time but absolutely necessary, and we mentioned £50,000. This is every day a greater and greater omen of ruin. God fit us for it! I made my brother, in his cassock, to say grace this day, but I like his voice so ill, that I begin to be sorry he hath taken this order upon him.

8th. Towards noon by water to Westminster Hall, and there, by several, hear that the Parliament do resolve to do something to retrench Sir G. Carteret's great salary; but cannot hear of anything bad they can lay to his charge. The House did this day order to be engrossed the Bill against importing Irish cattle: a thing, it seems, carried on by the Western Parliament-men, wholly against the sense of most of the rest of the House, who think, if you do this, you give the Irish again cause to rebel. Thus plenty on both sides makes us mad. By water with Mr. Pierce to White Hall, he telling me how the Duke of York and Duke of Albemarle do not agree. The Duke of York is wholly given up to this Denham. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert do less agree. The King hath yesterday, in Council, declared his resolution of setting a fashion for clothes, which he will never alter. It will be a vest, I know not well how; but it is to teach the nobility thrift, and will do good. By and by comes down from the Committee Sir W. Coventry, and I find him troubled at several things happened this afternoon, which vexes me also; our businesses looking worse and worse, and our work growing on our

hands. Time spending, and no money to set anything in hand with: the end thereof must be speedy ruin. The Dutch insult and have taken off Bruant's head, which they have not dared to do (though found guilty of the fault he did die for, of something of the Prince of Orange's faction) till just now, which speaks more confidence in our being worse than before. Alderman Meynell, I hear, is dead. Thence returned in the dark by coach all alone, full of thoughts of the consequences of this ill complexion of affairs, and how to save myself and the little I have, which if I can do, I have cause to bless God that I am so well, and shall be well contented to retreat to Brampton, and spend the rest of my days there. So to my office, and finished my journal, with resolutions, if God bless me, to apply myself soberly to settle all matters myself, and expect the event of all with comfort.

9th. To the office, where we sat the first day since the fire, I think. Home, and my uncle Thomas was there and dined with my brother and I.

10th. (Fast-day for the fire.) With Sir W. Batten by water to White Hall, and anon had a meeting before the Duke of York, where pretty to see how Sir W. Batten, that carried the surveys of all the fleet with him, to show their ill condition to the Duke of York, when he found the Prince there did not speak one word, though the meeting was of his asking, for nothing else; and, when I asked him, he told me he knew the Prince too well to anger him, so that he was afraid to do it. Thence with him to Westminster, to the parish church, where the Parliament-men; and Stillingfleet in the pulpit. So full, no standing there; so he and I to eat herrings at the Dog tavern; and then to church again, and there was Mr. Frampton<sup>1</sup> in the pulpit, whom they cry up so much, a young man, and of a mighty ready tongue. I heard a little of his sermon, and liked it, but the crowd so great I could not stay. So to the Swan; and *baisais la fille*, and drank, and then home by coach, and to Islington, where I find mine host dead. Here eat and drank, and merry; and so home. With Captain Cocke, who is mighty conversant with Garraway and those people, who tells me what they object as to the maladministration of things as to money.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Frampton, a native of Pimper, in Dorsetshire, educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and afterwards a student of Christ Church, and chaplain to a man-of-war. In 1673 he became Dean of Gloucester, and in 1681 bishop of that see; but refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, he was deprived, and retired into private life. *Ob.* 25th May 1708.

But that they mean well and will do well; but their reckonings are very good, and show great faults, as I will insert here. They say the King hath had towards this war expressly thus much:

Royal Aid . . . . .	£2,450,000
More . . . . .	1,250,000
Three months' tax given the King by a power of raising a month's tax of £70,000 every year for three years . . .	6,210,000
Customs, out of which the King did promise to pay £240,000, which, for two years, come to . . . . .	0,480,000
Prizes, which they moderately reckon at . . . . .	0,300,000
A debt declared by the Navy, by us . . . . .	0,900,000

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5,590,000

The whole charge of the Navy, as we state it for two years and a month, hath been but . . . . . 3,200,000

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So what has become of all this sum? . . . . . £2,390,000

He and I did bemoan our public condition. He tells me the Duke of Albemarle is under a cloud, and they have a mind at Court to lay him aside. This I know not but all things are not right with him: and I am glad of it, but sorry for the time. So home to supper and to bed, it being my wedding night, but how many years I cannot tell; but my wife says ten.<sup>1</sup>

11th. *Memorandum.* I had taken my journal during the fire, and the disorders following, in loose papers, until this very day, and could not get time to enter them in my book till January 18, in the morning, having made my eyes sore by frequent attempts this winter to do it. But now it is done: for which I thank God! and pray never the like occasion may happen.

12th. Up, and after taking leave of my poor father, who is setting out this day for Brampton by the Cambridge coach, he having taken a journey to see the City burned and to bring my brother to town, out by water; and so by coach to St. James's, the weather being foul; and there, from Sir W. Coventry, do hear how the House have cut us off £150,000 of our wear and tear, for that which was saved by the King while the fleet lay in harbour in winter. However, he seems pleased, and so am I, that they have abated no more, and do intend to allow of 28,000 men for the next year, and this day have appointed to declare the sum they will give the King,<sup>2</sup> and to propose the way of raising it: so that this

<sup>1</sup> It was eleven years.

<sup>2</sup> The Parliament voted this day a supply of £1,800,000 sterling.

is likely to be the great day. So home, and find my wife come home, and hath brought her new girl I have helped her to, of Mr. Falconbridge's. She is wretched poor, and but ordinary favoured, and we fain to lay out seven or eight pounds' worth of clothes upon her back, which, methinks, do go against my heart; and I do not think I can ever esteem her as I could have done another that had come fine and handsome; and, which is more, her voice, for want of use, is so furred, that it do not at present please me; but her manner of singing is such, that I shall, I think, take great pleasure in it. Well, she is come, and I wish us good fortune in her. Notice of a meeting of the Commissioners for Tangier tomorrow, and so I must have my accounts ready for them.

13th. My accounts cost me till four o'clock in the morning, and, which was pretty to think, I was above an hour, after I had made all right, in casting up of about twenty sums, being dozed with much work, and had for forty times together forgot to carry the 60 which I had in mind, in one denomination which exceeded 60; and this did confound me for above an hour together. Up at seven, and so to the office. At noon to dinner at a cook's, and thence to my Lord Bellassis's, whom I find kind, but he had drawn some new proposal to deliver to the Lords Commissioners today; wherein one was, that the garrison would not be well paid without some goldsmith's undertaking the paying of the bills of exchange for tallies. He professing so much kindness to me, and saying that he would not be concerned in the garrison without me; and that if he continued in the employment, no man should have to do with the money but myself, I did ask his Lordship's meaning of the proposition in his paper. He told me he had not much considered it, but that he meant no harm to me. I told him I thought it would render me useless; whereupon he did very frankly, after my seeming denials for a good while, cause it to be writ over again, and that clause left out, which did satisfy me abundantly. It being done, he and I together to White Hall, and there the Duke of York (who is gone over to all his pleasures again, and leaves off care of business, what with his woman, my Lady Denham, and his hunting three times a week) was just come in from hunting. So I stood and saw him dress himself, and try on his vest, which is the King's new fashion, and he will be in it for good and all on Monday next, and the whole Court: it is a fashion, the King says, he will never change. He being ready, he and my Lord Chancellor and

Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert, Lord Bellassis, Sir H. Cholmley, Povy, and myself met at a Committee for Tangier. My Lord Bellassis's propositions were read and discoursed of, about reducing the garrison to less charge; and, indeed, I am mad in love with my Lord Chancellor, for he do comprehend and speak out well, and with the greatest easiness and authority that ever I saw man in my life. I did never observe how much easier a man do speak when he knows all the company to be below him, than in him; for, though he spoke, indeed, excellent well, yet his manner and freedom of doing it, as if he played with it and was informing only all the rest of the company, was mighty pretty. He did call again and again upon Mr. Povy for his accounts. I did think fit to make the solemn tender of my accounts that I intended. I said something that was liked, touching the want of money and the bad credit of our tallies. My Lord Chancellor moved that, without any trouble to any of the rest of the Lords, I might alone attend the King when he was with his private Council, and open the state of the garrison's want of credit: and all that could be done, should. Most things moved were referred to Committees, and so we broke up. And, at the end, Sir W. Coventry came; so I away with him, and he discoursed with me something of the Parliament's business. They have voted giving the King for the next year £1,800,000; which, were it not for his debts, were a great sum. He says he thinks the House may say no more to us for the present, but that we must mend our manners against the next trial, and mend them we will.

14th. (Lord's day.) To church, which was mighty full: and my beauties, Mrs. Lethicullier<sup>1</sup> and fair Batelier, both there. A very foul morning, and rained. Sent for my cloak to go out of the church with. After dinner to Westminster Abbey. Here I met with Sir Stephen Fox, who told me how much right I had done myself, and how well it is represented by the Committee to the House my readiness to give them satisfaction in everything, when they were at the office. I was glad of this. He did further discourse of Sir W. Coventry's great abilities, and how necessary it were that I were of the House to assist him. I did not own it, but do myself think it were not unnecessary, if either he should die, or be removed to the Lords, or anything happen to hinder his doing

<sup>1</sup> This lady, whose name has occurred before, was probably Anne, daughter of Sir William Hooker, and wife of John Lethicullier, afterwards Sheriff of London, in 1674, and knighted.



the like service the next trial; which makes me think that it were not a thing very unfit, but I will not move in it.

15th. Colvill and I to Westminster Hall, in our way talking of matters and passages of State, the viciousness of the Court: the contempt the King brings himself into thereby; his minding nothing, but doing all things just as his people about him will have it! the Duke of York becoming a slave to this strumpet Denham, and wholly minds her; that there really were amours between the Duchess and Sidney; that there is reason to fear that, as soon as the Parliament have raised this money, the King will see that he hath got all that he can get, and then make up a peace; that Sir W. Coventry is of the cabal with the Duke of York, and Brouncker, with this Lady Denham: which is a shame, and I am sorry for it, and that Sir W. Coventry do make her visits; but yet I hope it is not so. Pierce tells me that, as little agreement as there is between the Prince and Duke of Albemarle, yet they are likely to go to sea again; for the first will not be trusted alone, and nobody will go with him but this Duke of Albemarle. He tells me much how all the commanders of the fleet and officers that are sober men do cry out upon their bad discipline, and the ruin that must follow it if it continue. But that which I wonder most at—it seems their secretaries have been the most exorbitant in their fees to all sorts of the people, that it is not to be believed that they durst do it, so as it is believed they have got £800 apiece by the very vacancies in the fleet. He tells me that Lady Castlemaine is concluded to be with child again; and that all the people about the King do make no scruple of saying that the King do intrigue with Mrs. Stuart, who, he says, is a most excellent-natured lady. This day the King begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it; being a long cassock close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black ribbon like a pigeon's leg: and, upon the whole, I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome garment. Out comes Sir W. Coventry, and he and I talked of business: I fear that Pen will be Comptroller, which I shall grudge a little. The Duke of Buckingham called him aside and spoke a good while with him. I did presently fear it might be to discourse something of his design to blemish my Lord of Sandwich, in pursuance of the wild motion he made the other day in the House. Sir W. Coventry, when he came to me again, told me that he had wrought a miracle,

which was the convincing the Duke of Buckingham that something (he did not name what) that he had intended to do was not fit to be done, and that the Duke is gone away of that opinion. By and by the House rose; and then I with Sir G. Carteret, and walked in the Exchequer Court. I observing to him how friendly Sir W. Coventry carried himself to him in these late inquiries, when, if he had borne him any spleen, he could have had what occasion he pleased offered him, he did confess he found the same thing, and would thank him for it. Away with him to his lodgings at White Hall to dinner, where my Lady Carteret is, and mighty kind, both of them, to me. Their son and my Lady Jemimah will be here very speedily. She tells me the ladies are to go into a new fashion shortly, and that is, to wear short coats above their ankles; which she and I do not like but conclude this long train to be mighty graceful. But she cries out of the vices of the Court, and how they are going to set up plays already; and how, the next day after the late great fast, the Duchess of York did give the King and Queen a play. Nay, she told me that they have heretofore had plays at Court the very nights before the fast for the death of the late King. She do much cry out upon these things, and that which she believes will undo the whole nation; and I fear so too. This day the great debate was, in Parliament, the manner of raising the £1,800,000 they voted the King on Friday: and at last, after many proposals, one moved that the Chimney-money might be taken from the King, and an equal revenue of something else might be found for the King: and people be enjoined to buy off this tax of Chimney-money for ever at eight years' purchase, which will raise present money, as they think, £1,600,000, and the State be eased of an ill burthen, and the King be supplied of something as good or better for his use. The House seems to like this, and put off the debate to tomorrow.

16th. To the office, where sat to do little business, but hear clamours for money. Hearing my brother play a little upon the lute, which he do so as to show that he hath a love to music, and a spirit for it, which I am mighty well pleased with.

17th. To dinner alone with my brother, with whom I had now the first private talk I have had, and find he hath preached but twice in his life. I did give him some advice to study pronunciation, but I do fear he will never make a good speaker, nor, I fear, any general good scholar; for I do not see that he minds optics or mathematics of any sort, nor anything else that I can find. I know not what he may be at divinity and ordinary school-learning.

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and, at the end, that he ought never to marry the child nor the godmother, nor the godmother the child of the godfather: but, which is strange, they say the mother of the child and the godfather may marry. By and by the Lady Bills came in, a well-bred but crooked woman. The poor people of the house had good wine, and a good cake; and she a pretty woman in her lying-in dress. It cost me near 40s. the whole christening: to midwife 20s., nurse 10s., maid 2s. 6d., and the coach 5s. The business of buying off the Chimney-money is passed in the House: and so the King to be satisfied some other way, and the King supplied with the money raised by this purchasing off of the chimneys.

19th. To Povy's, who continues as much confounded in all his business as ever he was; and would have had me paid money as like a fool as himself, which I troubled him in refusing, but I did persist in it. To White Hall, where I met Sir Robert Viner, who told me a little of what, in going home, I had seen; also a little of the disorder and mutiny among the seamen at the Treasurer's office, which did trouble me, considering how many more seamen will come to town every day, and no money for them. A Parliament sitting, and the Exchange close by, and an enemy to hear of and laugh at it.<sup>1</sup> Viner, too, and Backwell were sent for this afternoon, and was before the King and his Cabinet about money: they declaring they would advance no more, it being discoursed of in the House of Parliament for the King to issue out his privy-seals to them to command them to trust him, which gives them reason to decline trusting. I did lay the state of our condition before the Duke of York, that the fleet could not go out without several things it wanted, and we could not have without money. We do not do the King any service, but rather abuse and betray his service, by being here, and seeming to do something while we do not. Sir G. Carteret asked me whether £50 or £60 would do us any good; and when I told him the very rum man must have £200, he held up his eyes as if we had asked a million. The Duke of York did confess that he did not see how we could do anything without a present supply of £20,000, and so we broke up, and all parted. Nothing but distraction and confusion in the affairs of the Navy, which makes me wish with all my heart that I were well and quietly settled, with what little I have got, at Brampton, where I might live peaceably, and study, and pray for the good of the King and my country.

<sup>1</sup> War was declared against Denmark this day.

20th. Commissioner Middleton<sup>1</sup> says, that the fleet was in such a condition as to discipline, as if the Devil had commanded it; so much wickedness of all sorts. Enquiring how it came to pass that so many ships had miscarried this year, he tells me that he enquired: and the pilots do say, that they dare not do nor go but as the Captains will have them; and, if they offer to do otherwise, the Captains swear they will run them through. He says that he heard Captain Digby,<sup>2</sup> my Lord of Bristol's son, a young fellow that never was but one year, if that, in the fleet, say that he did hope he should not see a tarpaulin<sup>3</sup> have the command of a ship within this twelve months. He observed, while he was on board the Admiral, when the fleet was at Portsmouth, that there was a faction there. Holmes commanded all on the Prince's side, and Sir Jeremy Smith on the Duke's; and everybody that came did apply themselves to one side or other; and, when the Duke of Albemarle was gone away to come hither, then Sir Jeremy Smith did hang his head, and walked in the General's ship but like a private commander. He says he was on board the Prince, when the news come of the burning of London: and all the Prince said was, that now Shipton's prophecy was out; <sup>4</sup> and he heard a young commander presently swear, that now a citizen's wife that would not take under half a piece before, would be contented with half-a-crown: and made mighty sport of it. Sir G. Carteret told me my Lord Chancellor, the other day, did ask him how it came to pass that his friend Pepys do so much magnify the bad condition of the fleet; and he tells me that he answered him, that I was but the mouth of the rest, and spoke what they have dictated to me; which did, as he says, presently take off his displeasure. With Sir G. Carteret home to dinner, with him, my Lady, and Mr. Ashburnham, the Cofferer. Here they talk that the Queen hath a great mind to alter her fashion, and to have the feet seen; which she loves

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Middleton, who had been made a Commissioner of the Navy in 1664.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Digby, afterwards colonel. He was killed in the sea-fight at Sole Bay.

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<sup>4</sup> Evidently the concluding passage of *Mother Shipton's Prophecies*, viz., 'A ship come sailing up the Thames to London, and the master of the ship shall weep, and the mariners shall ask him why he weepeth, being he hath made so good a voyage, and he shall say, "Ah, what a goodly city this was, none in the world comparable to it, and now there is scarcely left any house that can let us have drink for our money."'—Quoted from the edition of 1641, which Prince Rupert might have seen.

mightily. Here I met with the King's declaration about his proceedings with the King of Denmark, and particularly the business of Bergen: but it is so well writ, that, if it be true, the King of Denmark is one of the most absolute wickedness in the world for a person of his quality. Home, and there met Mr. Povy by appointment, and there he and I till late at night, evening of all accounts between us.

21st. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, and there attended the Cabinet, and was called in before the King and them to give an account of our want of money for Tangier, which troubles me that it should be my place so often and so soon after one another to come to speak there of their wants. And to see how like an image the King sat, and could not speak one word when I had delivered myself, was very strange: only my Lord Chancellor did ask me whether I thought it was in nature at this time to help us to anything. So I was referred to another meeting of the Lords Commissioners for Tangier and my Lord Treasurer. Spent the evening in reading Stillingfleet's defence of the archbishop, the part about Purgatory, a point I have never considered before, what was said for it or against it; and though I do believe we are in the right, yet I do not see any great matter in this book. Walking with Sir H. Cholmley long in the gallery, he told me, among many other things, how young Harry Killigrew<sup>1</sup> is banished the Court lately, for saying that my Lady Castlemaine was a little lecherous girl when she was young. This she complained to the King of; and he sent to the Duke of York, whose servant he is, to turn him away. The Duke of York hath done it, but takes it ill of my Lady that he was not complained to first. She attended him to excuse it, but ill blood is made by it. He told me how Mr. Williamson stood in a little place to have come into the House of Commons, and they would not choose him: they said, 'No courtier.' And, which is worse, Bab. May went down in great state to Winchelsea with the Duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen: and there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no Court pimp to be their burgess: which are things that bode very ill.

22d. At the Temple Church, looking with pleasure on the monuments and epitaphs.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Tom Killigrew by his first wife, Mrs. Cecilia Crofts. He was baptized in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, 16th April 1637, and is called 'young' to distinguish him from his uncle of the same name, who was Master of the Savoy.

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herself mighty fine to go to a great ball tonight at Court, being the Queen's birthday; so the ladies for this one day to wear laces, but are to put them off again tomorrow. To Mrs. Williams's, where we met Knipp. I was glad to see the jade. Made her sing; and she told us they begin at both houses to act on Monday next. But I fear, after all this sorrow, their gains will be but little. Mrs. Williams says the Duke's House will now be much the better of the two, because of their women; which I am glad to hear. The House of Parliament makes mighty little haste in settling the money; but they fall into faction, and libels have been found in the House. Among others, one yesterday, wherein they reckon up divers great sums to be given away by the King—£10,000 to Sir W. Coventry, for wear and tear, the point he stood upon to advance that sum by, for them to give the King; Sir G. Carteret £50,000 for something else, I think supernumeraries; and so to Matt. Wren £5000 for passing the Canary Company's patent; and so a great many other sums to other persons.

26th. Up, and all the morning and most of the afternoon within doors, beginning to set my accounts in order from before this fire, I being behindhand with them ever since; and this day I got most of my tradesmen to bring in their bills, and paid them. Nothing done in the House yet, as to finishing the Bill for money, which is a mighty sad thing, all lying at stake for it.

27th. Up, and there comes to see me my Lord Bellassis, which was a great honour. He tells me great news, yet but what I suspected—that Vernatty is fled, and so hath cheated him and twenty more, but most of all, I doubt, Mr. Povy. He tells me how the two Houses begin to be troublesome, the Lords to have quarrels one with another. My Lord Duke of Buckingham having said to the Lord Chancellor, who is against the passing of the Bill for prohibiting the bringing over of Irish cattle, that whoever was against the Bill was there led to it by an Irish interest or an Irish understanding, which is as much as to say he is a fool. This bred heat from my Lord Chancellor, and something he [Buckingham] said did offend my Lord of Ossory, my Lord Duke of Ormond's son,<sup>1</sup> and they two had hard words, upon which the latter sends a challenge to the former; of which the former complains to the House, and so the business is to be heard on Monday next.<sup>2</sup> Then,

<sup>1</sup> On the 14th September 1666, the Earl of Ossory had been created an English peer, as Lord Butler of Moore Park.

<sup>2</sup> Both parties were sent to the Tower.



as to the Commons: some ugly knives, like poignards, to stab people with, about two or three hundred of them, were brought in yesterday to the House, found in one of the house's rubbish that was burned, and said to be the house of a Catholic. This and several letters out of the country, saying how high the Catholics are everywhere, and bold in the owning their religion, have made the Commons mad, and they presently voted that the King be desired to put all Catholics out of employment, and other high things; while the business of money hangs in the hedge. Home to dinner, where Mrs. Pierce and her boy and Knipp, who sings as well and is the best company in the world, dined with us, and infinite merry. The playhouses begin to play next week. Towards evening, I took them out to the New Exchange, and there my wife bought things, and I did give each of them a pair of jesimy<sup>1</sup> plain gloves, and another of white. Here Knipp and I walked up and down to see handsome faces, and did see several. Then carried each of them home, and, with great pleasure and content, home myself.

28th. (Lord's day.) Captain Guy to dine with me, and he and I much talk together. He cries out of the discipline of the fleet, and confesses really that the true English valour we talk of is almost spent and worn out; few of the commanders doing what they should do, and he much fears we shall therefore be beaten the next year. He assures me we were beaten home the last June fight, and that the whole fleet was ashamed to hear of our bonfires. He commends Smith, and cries out of Holmes for an idle, proud, conceited, though stout fellow. He tells me we are to owe the loss of so many ships on the sands, not to any fault of the pilots, but to the weather; but in this I have good authority to fear there was something more. He says the Dutch do fight in very good order, and we in none at all. He says that in the July fight both the Prince and Holmes had their bellyfuls, and were fain to go aside; though, if the wind had continued, we had utterly beaten them. He do confess the whole to be governed by a company of fools, and fears our ruin. The Revenge having her forecastle blown up with powder, to the killing of some men in the River, and the Diamond's being overset in the careening at Sheerness, are further marks of the method all the King's work is now done in. The Foresight, also, and another came to disasters in the same place this week, in the cleaning; which is strange.

<sup>1</sup> Jessamine (*Jasminum*), the flowers of which are of a delicate sweet smell, and were often used to perfume gloves.

29th. Up, and to the office to do business, and thither comes to me Sir Thomas Teddman, and he and I walked a good while in the garden together, discoursing of the disorder and discipline of the fleet; wherein he told me how bad everything is, but was very wary in speaking anything to the dishonour of the Prince or Duke of Albemarle, but do magnify my Lord Sandwich much before them both, for ability to serve the King, and do heartily wish for him here; for he fears that we shall be undone the next year, but that he will, however, see an end of it. To Westminster; and I find the new Lord Mayor Bolton <sup>1</sup> a-swearing at the Exchequer, with some of the Aldermen and Livery. But, Lord! to see how meanly they now look, who upon this day used to be all little lords, is a sad sight, and worthy consideration; and everybody did reflect with pity upon the poor City, to which they are now coming to choose and swear their Lord Mayor, compared with what it heretofore was. Thence by coach (having in the Hall bought me a velvet riding-cap, cost me 20s.) to my tailor's, and there bespoke a plain vest, and so to my goldsmith, to bid him look out for some gold for me; and he tells me that guineas, which I bought 2000 of not long ago, and cost me but 18½*d.* change, will now cost me 22*d.*; and but very few to be had at any price. However, some more I will have, for they are very convenient, and of easy disposal. So home to dinner and to discourse with my brother upon his translation of my Lord Bacon's 'Faber Fortunae,' which I gave him to do and he has done it, but meanly; I am not pleased with it at all, having done it only literally, but without any life at all. About five o'clock I took my wife (who is mighty fine with a new fair pair of locks, which vex me, though, like a fool, I helped her the other night to buy them), and to Mrs. Pierce's; and there staying a little, I away before to White Hall, and into the new playhouse there, the first time I ever was there, and the first play I have seen since before the great plague. By and by Mr. Pierce comes, bringing my wife and his, and Knipp. By and by the King and Queen, Duke and Duchess, and all the great ladies of the Court; which, indeed, was a fine sight. But the play being 'Love in a Tub,' a silly play, and though done by the Duke's people, yet having neither Betterton nor his wife, and the whole thing done ill, and being ill also, I had no manner of pleasure in the play. Besides, the house, though very fine, yet bad for the voice for hearing. The sight of the ladies, indeed, was exceeding noble;

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Bolton, merchant-tailor.

and, above all, my Lady Castlemaine. The play done by ten o'clock.

30th. Mr. Hater staying most of the afternoon abroad, he came to me, poor man, to make excuse, and it was that he had been looking out for a little house for his family. His wife being much frightened in the country with the discourses of troubles and disorders like to be, and therefore durst not be from him, and therefore he is forced to bring her to town. This is now the general apprehension of all people: particulars I do not know, but my own fears are also great, and I do think it time to look out to save something, if a storm should come. At night home to supper, and singing with my wife who has lately begun to learn, and I think will come to do something, though her ear is not good; nor I, I confess, have patience enough to teach her or hear her sing now and then a false note out of tune, and am to blame that I cannot bear with that in her which is fit I should do with her as a learner and one that I desire much could sing, and so should encourage her. This I was troubled at, for I find that I do put her out of heart and make her fearful to sing before me.

November 1st. Up, and was presented by Burton, one of our smiths' wives, with a very noble cake, which I presently resolved to have my wife go with today, and some wine, and house-warm my Betty Michell, which she readily resolved to do. From dinner, my wife and my brother and W. Hewer and Barker away to Betty Michell's, to Shadwell.

2d. With Sir W. Batten to Woolwich, where first we went on board the Ruby, French prize, the only ship of war we have taken from any of our enemies this year. It seems a very good ship, but with galleries quite round the stern, to walk in as a balcony, which will be taken down. She had also about forty good brass guns, but will make little amends to our loss in the Prince. I did also buy some apples and pork, by the same token the butcher commended it for cloth and colour. And for his beef, says he, 'Look how fat it is, the lean appears only here and there a speck, like beauty-spots.' Having done at Woolwich, we to Deptford and so home, I reading all the way to make an end of 'The Bondman,' and begun 'The Duchess of Malti,' which seems a good play.

3d. This morning comes Mr. Lovett, and brings me my print of the Passion, varnished by him, and the frame black, which indeed is very fine, though not so fine as I expected; however, pleases me exceedingly. This, and the sheets of paper he prepared

29th. Up, and to the office to do business, and thither comes to me Sir Thomas Teddman, and he and I walked a good while in the garden together, discoursing of the disorder and discipline of the fleet; wherein he told me how bad everything is, but was very wary in speaking anything to the dishonour of the Prince or Duke of Albemarle, but do magnify my Lord Sandwich much before them both, for ability to serve the King, and do heartily wish for him here; for he fears that we shall be undone the next year, but that he will, however, see an end of it. To Westminster; and I find the new Lord Mayor Bolton<sup>1</sup> a-swearing at the Exchequer, with some of the Aldermen and Livery. But, Lord! to see how meanly they now look, who upon this day used to be all little lords, is a sad sight, and worthy consideration; and everybody did reflect with pity upon the poor City, to which they are now coming to choose and swear their Lord Mayor, compared with what it heretofore was. Thence by coach (having in the Hall bought me a velvet riding-cap, cost me 20s.) to my tailor's, and there bespoke a plain vest, and so to my goldsmith, to bid him look out for some gold for me; and he tells me that guineas, which I bought 2000 of not long ago, and cost me but 18½*d.* change, will now cost me 22*d.*; and but very few to be had at any price. However, some more I will have, for they are very convenient, and of easy disposal. So home to dinner and to discourse with my brother upon his translation of my Lord Bacon's 'Faber Fortunae,' which I gave him to do and he has done it, but meanly; I am not pleased with it at all, having done it only literally, but without any life at all. About five o'clock I took my wife (who is mighty fine with a new fair pair of locks, which vex me, though, like a fool, I helped her the other night to buy them), and to Mrs. Pierce's; and there staying a little, I away before to White Hall, and into the new playhouse there, the first time I ever was there, and the first play I have seen since before the great plague. By and by Mr. Pierce comes, bringing my wife and his, and Knipp. By and by the King and Queen, Duke and Duchess, and all the great ladies of the Court; which, indeed, was a fine sight. But the play being 'Love in a Tub,' a silly play, and though done by the Duke's people, yet having neither Betterton nor his wife, and the whole thing done ill, and being ill also, I had no manner of pleasure in the play. Besides, the house, though very fine, yet bad for the voice for hearing. The sight of the ladies, indeed, was exceeding noble;

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Bolton, merchant-tailor.

want thereof, and his want of coming in of rents, and no wages from the Duke of York. No money to be had there, for wages nor disbursements, and therefore prays my assistance about his pension. I was moved with her story, and promised I would try what I could do in a few days. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined, and mightily made of. Here my Lord and Sir Thomas Crewe, Mr. John and Dr. Crewe, and two strangers. The best family in the world for goodness and sobriety. Here, beyond my expectation, I met my Lord Hinchinbroke, who is come to town two days since from Hinchinbroke, and brought his sister and brother Carteret with him, who are at Sir G. Carteret's. After dinner I and Sir Thomas Crewe went aside to discourse of public matters, and do find by him that all the country gentlemen are publicly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and that they do doubt everything that they propose; and that the true reason why the country gentlemen are for a land-tax, and against a general excise, is, because they are fearful that if the latter be granted, they shall never get it down again; whereas the land-tax will be but for so much, and when the war ceases there will be no ground got by the Court to keep it up. He says the House would be very glad to get something against Sir G. Carteret, and will not let their inquiries die till they have got something. He do, from what he hath heard at the Committee for examining the burning of the City, conclude it, as a thing certain, that it was done by plot; it being proved by many witnesses that endeavours were made in several places to increase the fire, and that, both in City and country, it was bragged by several Papists that upon such a day, or in such a time, we should find the hottest weather that ever was in England; and words of plainer sense. But my Lord Crewe was discoursing at table how the Judges have determined in the case whether the landlords or the tenants, who are, in their leases, all of them generally tied to maintain and uphold their houses, shall bear the loss of the fire; and they say that tenants should, against all casualties of fire, beginning either in their own or in their neighbours'; but, where it is done by an enemy, they are not to do it. And this was by an enemy, there having been one convicted and hanged upon this very score. This is an excellent salvo for the tenants, and for which I am glad, because of my father's house. After dinner and this discourse I took coach, and at the same time find my Lord Hinchinbroke and Mr. John Crewe and the Doctor going out to see the ruins of the City; so I took the Doctor into

my hackney coach, and he is a very fine, sober gentleman, and so through the City. But, Lord! what pretty and sober observations he made of the City and its desolation: till anon we came to my house, and there I took them upon Tower Hill to show them what houses were pulled down there since the fire; and then to my house, where I treated them with good wine of several sorts, and they took it mighty respectfully, and a fine company of gentlemen they are; but above all, I was glad to see my Lord Hinchingbroke drink no wine at all. So we broke up, and all took coach again, and I carried the Doctor to Chancery Lane, and thence I to White Hall, where I stayed walking up and down till night, and then got almost into the playhouse, having much mind to go and see the play at Court this night; but fearing how I should get home, because of the bonfires, and the lateness of the night, to get a coach, I did not stay. But having this evening seen my Lady Jemimah (who is come to town, and looks very well and fat), and heard how Mr. John Pickering is to be married this week, and to a fortune with £5000, and seen a rich necklace of pearl and two pendants of diamonds which Sir G. Carteret hath presented her with since her coming to town, I home by coach, but met not one bonfire through the whole town in going round by the wall: which is strange, and speaks the melancholy disposition of the City at present; while never more was said of, and feared of, and done against, the Papists, than just at this time.

6th. After dinner down alone by water to Deptford, reading 'Duchess of Malfi,' the play, which is pretty good. At night home, and there find Mr. Batelier, who supped with us, and good company he is.

7th. Called at Faithorne's, to buy some prints for my wife to draw by this winter, and here did see my Lady Castlemaine's picture, done by him from Lely's, in red chalk and other colours, by which he hath cut it in copper to be printed. The picture in chalk is the finest thing I ever saw in my life, I think and I did desire to buy it; but he says he must keep it awhile to correct his copperplate by, and, when that is done, he will sell it me. By the Duke of York his discourse today in his chamber they have it at Court, as well as we here, that a fatal day is to be expected shortly, of some great mischief; whether by the Papists, or what, they are not certain. But the day is disputed: some say next Friday, others a day sooner, others later; and I hope all will prove a foolery. But it is observable how everybody's fears are busy at this time.

want thereof, and his want of coming in of rents, and no wages from the Duke of York. No money to be had there, for wages nor disbursements, and therefore prays my assistance about his pension. I was moved with her story, and promised I would try what I could do in a few days. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined, and mightily made of. Here my Lord and Sir Thomas Crewe, Mr. John and Dr. Crewe, and two strangers. The best family in the world for goodness and sobriety. Here, beyond my expectation, I met my Lord Hinchinbroke, who is come to town two days since from Hinchinbroke, and brought his sister and brother Carteret with him, who are at Sir G. Carteret's. After dinner I and Sir Thomas Crewe went aside to discourse of public matters, and do find by him that all the country gentlemen are publicly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and that they do doubt everything that they propose; and that the true reason why the country gentlemen are for a land-tax, and against a general excise, is, because they are fearful that if the latter be granted, they shall never get it down again; whereas the land-tax will be but for so much, and when the war ceases there will be no ground got by the Court to keep it up. He says the House would be very glad to get something against Sir G. Carteret, and will not let their inquiries die till they have got something. He do, from what he hath heard at the Committee for examining the burning of the City, conclude it, as a thing certain, that it was done by plot; it being proved by many witnesses that endeavours were made in several places to increase the fire, and that, both in City and country, it was bragged by several Papists that upon such a day, or in such a time, we should find the hottest weather that ever was in England; and words of plainer sense. But my Lord Crewe was discoursing at table how the Judges have determined in the case whether the landlords or the tenants, who are, in their leases, all of them generally tied to maintain and uphold their houses, shall bear the loss of the fire; and they say that tenants should, against all casualties of fire, beginning either in their own or in their neighbours'; but, where it is done by an enemy, they are not to do it. And this was by an enemy, there having been one convicted and hanged upon this very score. This is an excellent salvo for the tenants, and for which I am glad, because of my father's house. After dinner and this discourse I took coach, and at the same time find my Lord Hinchinbroke and Mr. John Crewe and the Doctor going out to see the ruins of the City; so I took the Doctor into

or tomorrow, to have a massacre, by the having so many fires one after another, as that in the City, and at same time begun in Westminster, by the Palace, but put out; and since in Southwark, to the burning down some houses; and now this do make all people conclude there is something extraordinary in it; but nobody knows what. By and by comes news that the fire has slackened; so then we were a little cheered up again, and to supper, and pretty merry. But, above all, there comes in the dumb boy that I knew in Oliver's time, who is mightily acquainted here, and with Downing; and he made strange signs of the fire, and how the King was abroad, and many things they understood, but I could not, which I wondered at, and discoursing with Downing about it, 'Why,' says he, 'it is only a little use, and you will understand him and make him understand you with as much ease as may be.' So I prayed him to tell him that I was afraid that my coach would be gone, and that he should go down and steal one of the seats out of the coach and keep it, and that would make the coachman to stay. He did this, so that the dumb boy did go down, and, like a cunning rogue, went into the coach, pretending to sleep; and, by and by, fell to his work, but finds the seats nailed to the coach. So he could not do it; however, stayed there, and stayed the coach till the coachman's patience was quite spent, and beat the dumb boy by force, and so went away. So the dumb boy came up, and told him all the story, which they below did see all that passed, and knew it to be true. After supper another dance or two, and then news that the fire is as great as ever, which puts us all to our wits' end; and I mightily anxious to go home, but the coach being gone, and it being about ten at night, and rainy dirty weather, I knew not what to do, but to walk out with Mr. Batelier, myself resolving to go home on foot and leave the women there. And so did; but at the Savoy got a coach, and came back and took up the women; and so, having, by people come from the fire, understood that the fire was overcome and all well, we merrily parted, and home. Stopped by several guards and constables quite through the town, round the wall, as we went, all being in arms. Being come home, we to cards till two in the morning, and drinking lamb's-wool.<sup>1</sup> So to bed.

10th. The Parliament did fall foul of our accounts again yesterday; and we must arm to have them examined, which I am sorry for: it will bring great trouble to me and shame upon the office.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb's-wool is a vulgar beverage made of ale, mixed with sugar, nutmeg, and the pulp of roasted apples.



With my Lord Brouncker and Sir Thomas Harvey to Cocke's house, and there Mrs. Williams and other company, and an excellent dinner. Mr. Temple's wife, after dinner, fell to play on the harpsichon, till she so tired everybody, that I left the house without taking leave, and no creature left standing by her to hear her. Read an hour, to make an end of Potter's discourse of 666, which I like all along, but his close is most excellent; and, whether it be right or wrong, is mighty ingenious. This is the fatal day that everybody hath discoursed for a long time to be the day that the Papists, or I know not who, have designed to commit a massacre upon; but, however, I trust in God we shall rise tomorrow morning as well as ever. I hear that my Lady Denham is exceeding sick, even to death, and that she says, and everybody else discourses, that she is poisoned; and Creed tells me that it is said that there hath been a design to poison the King. What the meaning of all these sad signs is, the Lord only knows; but every day things look worse and worse. God fit us for the worst!

11th. (Lord's day.) To church, myself and wife, where the old dunce Meriton, of St. Martin's, Westminster, did make a very good sermon, beyond my expectation. Home to dinner, and we carried in Pegg Pen, and there also came to us little Michell and his wife, and dined very pleasantly. Anon to church, and after church I to my chamber, and there did finish the putting lines to my song of 'It is decreed,' and do please myself at last and think it will be thought a good song. To my uncle Wight's, where my aunt is grown so ugly and their entertainment so bad, that I am in pain to be there: Woolly's wife a silly woman, and not very handsome, but no spirit in her at all; and their discourse mean, and the fear of the troubles of the times hath made them not to bring their plate to town since it was carried out upon the business of the fire, so that they drink in earth and a wooden can, which I do not like.

12th. Creed comes to me, and he and I walked in the garden a little talking particularly of my Lady Denham, whom everybody says is poisoned, and she hath said it to the Duke of York; but is upon the mending hand, though the town says she is dead this morning. Going to Sir R. Viner's, I did get such a splash and spots of dirt upon my new vest, that I was out of countenance to be seen in the street. This day I received 450 pieces of gold more of Mr. Stokes, but cost me 22½*d.* change; but I am well contented with it, I having now nearly £3,800 in gold, and will not

rest till I get full £4,000. Home to dinner, though Sir R. Viner would have stayed us to dine with him, he being sheriff; but, poor man, was so out of countenance, that he had no wine ready to drink to us, his butler being out of the way, though we know him to be a very liberal man. After dinner I took my wife out, intending to have gone and have seen my Lady Jemimah, at White Hall; but so great a stop there was at the New Exchange, that we could not pass in half an hour, and therefore 'light, and then home. My wife and all the maids [being] abed, but Jane, whom I put confidence in, she and I and my brother, and Tom and W. Hewer did bring up all the remainder of my money, and my plate-chest, out of the cellar, and placed the money in my study, with the rest, and the plate in my dressing-room; but indeed I am in great pain to think how to dispose of my money, it being wholly unsafe to keep it all in coin in one place. Creed and I did stop, the Duke of York being just going away from seeing of it, at Paul's, and in the Convocation-house Yard did there see the body of Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, that died 1404. He fell down in the tomb out of the great church into St. Faith's this late fire, and is here seen his skeleton with the flesh on; but all tough and dry like a spongy dry leather, or touchwood all upon his bones. His head turned aside. A great man in his time, and Lord Chancellor; and [his skeleton] now exposed to be handled and derided by some, though admired for its duration by others. Many flocking to see it.

13th. To Bishopsgate Street, and there bought some drinking-glasses, a case of knives, and other things, in expectation of my Lord Hinchinbroke's coming to dine with me. So home, and do here receive notice from my Lord Hinchinbroke that he is not well, and so not in condition to come, which I am not in much trouble for, because of the disorder my house is in, by the bricklayers coming to mend the chimney in my dining-room for smoking, which they were upon almost till midnight, and have now made it very pretty, and do carry smoke exceeding well. This evening came all the Houblons to me, to invite me to sup with them tomorrow night. I did take them home, and there we sat and talked a good while, and a glass of wine, and then parted till tomorrow night. So at night, well satisfied in the alteration of my chimney, I to bed.

14th. To Knipp's lodging, whom I find not ready to go home with me; and there stayed reading of Waller's verses, while she finished dressing, her husband being by. Her lodging very mean,

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Mr. Pierce going to the ball at night at Court, it being the Queen's birthday. I also to the ball, and with much ado got up to the loft, where with much trouble I could see very well. Anon the house grew full, and the candles light, and the King and Queen and all the ladies sat: and it was, indeed, a glorious sight to see Mrs. Stuart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with diamonds, and the like many great ladies more, only the Queen none; and the King in his rich vest of some rich silk and silver trimming, as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others of other sorts, exceeding rich. Presently after the King was come in, he took the Queen, and about fourteen more couple there was, and begun the Branles. As many of the men as I can remember presently, were, the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Douglas, Mr. [George] Hamilton, Colonel Russell, Mr. Griffith, Lord Ossory, Lord Rochester; and of the ladies, the Queen, Duchess of York, Mrs. Stuart, Duchess of Monmouth, Lady Essex Howard,<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Temple,<sup>2</sup> Swede's Ambassadors,<sup>3</sup> Lady Arlington, Lord George Berkeley's daughter,<sup>4</sup> and many others I remember not; but all most excellently dressed in rich petticoats and gowns, and diamonds and pearls. After the Branles, then to a Corant, and now and then a French dance; but that so rare, that the Corants grew tiresome, that I wished it done. Only Mrs. Stuart danced mighty finely, and many French dances, specially one the King called the New Dance, which was very pretty; but upon the whole matter, the business of the dancing of itself was not extraordinary pleasing. But the clothes and sight of the persons were indeed very pleasing, and worth my coming, being never

<sup>1</sup> Only daughter of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk, by his first wife Susan, daughter of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland; afterwards married, 4th March 1667, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Edward Griffin, Lord Griffin of Braybrooke.

<sup>2</sup> Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Temple, of Frankton, in Warwickshire, by Rebecca, daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington, in Surrey, became the second wife of Sir Charles Lyttelton, who had been Governor of Jamaica, and lived to be eighty-seven. His lady survived him four years, dying in 1718, and had issue by him eight daughters and five sons.

<sup>3</sup> "The Lord George Flemming, the Lord Peter Julius Coyet, ambassadors-extraordinary from the crown of Sweden, made their public entry through the City of London, on the 27th June 1666."—*Ponter's History*, vol. i, p. 213. The lady was the wife of one of these.

<sup>4</sup> George, Lord Berkeley, had six daughters. The one mentioned here was probably the eldest, Lady Elizabeth.

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House of Lords between my Lord Ossory and Ashley, the former saying that something said by the other was said like one of Oliver's Council. Ashley said he must give him reparation, or he would take it his own way. The House therefore did bring my Lord Ossory to confess his fault and ask pardon for it, as he did also to my Lord Buckingham, for saying that something was not truth that my Lord Buckingham had said.

20th. To church, it being thanksgiving-day for the cessation of the plague. But Lord! how the town do say that it is hastened before the plague is quite over, there dying some people still ill, but only to get ground for plays to be publicly acted, which the Bishops would not suffer till the plague was over; and one would think so, by the suddenness, of the notice given of the day, which was last Sunday, and the little ceremony. The sermon being dull of Mr. Mills, and people with great indifferency come to hear him. By coach to Berkshire House, and there did get a very great meeting, the Duke of York being there, and much business done, though not in proportion to the greatness of the business, and my Lord Chancellor sleeping and snoring the greater part of the time.

21st. I to wait on Sir Philip Howard, whom I find dressing himself in his night-gown and turban like a Turk, but one of the finest persons that ever I saw in my life. He had several gentlemen of his own waiting on him, and one playing finely on the guitar: he discourses as well as ever I heard man, in few words and handsome. He expressed all kindness to Balty, when I told him how sick he is: he says that, before he comes to be mustered again, he must bring a certificate of his swearing the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and having taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This, I perceive, is imposed on all.

22d. My Lord Brouncker did show me Hollar's new print of the City, with a pretty representation of that part which is burnt, very fine indeed; and tells me that he was yesterday sworn the King's servant, and that the King hath commanded him to go on with his great map of the City,<sup>1</sup> which he was upon before the

<sup>1</sup> Hollar engraved, in 1675, 'A new Map of the Citties of London, Westminster, and the Borough of Southwarke, with their Suburbs; shewing the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, &c., with other remarks, as they are now truly and carefully delineated; and the prospect of London, as it was flourishing before the destruction by fire.' Sold by Robert Green, and Robert Morden. A large sheet. In the Pepysian Library is a very long prospect of London and Westminster, taken at several stations to the southward thereof, by William Morgan (Gough's *British Topography*, vol. i, pp. 753-5).

City was burned, like Gombart of Paris,<sup>1</sup> which I am glad of. At noon home to dinner, where my wife and I fell out, I being displeased with her cutting away a lace handkercher, sewed about the neck, to her breasts almost, out of a belief, but without reason, that it is the fashion. Mr. Batelier tells me the news how the King of France hath, in defiance to the King of England, caused all his footmen to be put into vests, and that the noblemen of France will do the like; which, if true, is the greatest indignity ever done by one Prince to another, and would excite a stone to be revenged; and I hope our King will, if it be so, as he tells me it is: being told by one that came over from Paris with my Lady Fanshawe, who is come over with the dead body of her husband,<sup>2</sup> and that saw it before he came away. This makes me mighty merry, it being an ingenious kind of affront; but yet it makes me angry, to see that the King of England is become so little as to have the affront offered him. Batelier did bring us some oysters tonight, and some bottles of new French wine of this year, mighty good, but I drank but little.

23d. Attended the Duke of York, where, among other things, we had a complaint of Sir William Jennings's<sup>3</sup> against his lieutenant, Le Neve, one that had been long the Duke's page, and for whom the Duke of York hath great kindness. It was a drunken quarrel, where one was as blamable as the other. It was referred to further examination, but the Duke of York declared that as he would not favour disobedience, so neither drunkenness. I spoke with Sir G. Downing about our prisoners in Holland, and their being released; which he is concerned in, and most of them are. Then, discoursing of matters of the House of Parliament, he tells me that it is not the fault of the House, but the King's own party, that have hindered the passing of the Bill for money by their popping in of new projects for raising it, which is a strange thing; and mighty confident he is that what money is raised, will be raised and put into the same form that the last was, to come into the Exchequer; and, for aught I see, I must confess I think it is the best way.

24th. With Sir J. Minnes by coach to Stepney to the Trinity

<sup>1</sup> Gombart's Plan of Paris, on a very large scale, was engraved in 1642.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Fanshawe.

<sup>3</sup> He was a distinguished sea officer, brother of Sir Robert Jennings, of Ripon. He attended James II after his abdication, and served as a captain in the French navy.

House, where it is kept again now since the burning of their other house in London. And here a great many met at Sir Thomas Allen's feast, of his being made an Elder Brother; but he is sick, and so could not be there. Here was much good company, and very merry; but the discourse of Scotland, it seems, is confirmed, and that they are 4000 of them in arms, and do declare for King and Covenant, which is very ill news. I pray God deliver us from the ill consequences we may justly fear from it. Sir Philip Warwick, I find, is full of trouble in his mind to see how things go, and what our wants are; and so I have no delight to trouble him with discourse, though I honour the man with all my heart, and I think him to be a very able, right honest man. To read the late printed discourse of witches by a member of Gresham College:<sup>1</sup> the discourse being well writ, in good style, but methinks not very convincing.

25th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, and there to the chapel, where in my usual place I heard one of the King's chaplains, one Mr. Floyd, preach. He was out two or three times in his prayer, and as many in his sermon, but yet he made a most excellent good sermon, of our duty to imitate the lives and practice of Christ and the saints departed, and did it very handsomely and excellent style; but was a little over-large in magnifying the graces of the nobility and prelates, that we have seen in our memories in the world, whom God hath taken from us. At the end of the sermon an excellent anthem; but it was a pleasant thing, an idle companion in our pew (a prating, bold counsellor that hath been heretofore at the Navy Office, and noted for a great eater and drinker, not for quantity, but of the best), his name Tom Bales, said, 'I know a fitter anthem for this sermon,' speaking only of our duty of following the saints, and I know not what, 'Cooke should have sung, "Come, follow, follow me."' <sup>2</sup> To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner, where much company. Among others, Mr. Carteret and my Lady Jemimah, and Mr. [John] Ashburnham, the great man, who is a pleasant man, and that hath seen much of the world and more of the Court. Into the Court, and attended there till the Council met, and then was called in, and I read my letter. My Lord Treasurer declared that the King had nothing to give till the

<sup>1</sup> *A Blow at Modern Sadducism, with an account of the Demon of Tedworth*<sup>o</sup> 4to, London, 1666.

<sup>2</sup> This is the first line of 'The Fairy Queen,' which, with the air, is printed in the *Musical Miscellany*, London, 1729, vol. ii, p. 22.



Parliament did give him some money. So the King did of himself bid me to declare to all that would take our tallies for payment, that he should, soon as the Parliament's money do come in, take back their tallies and give them money: which I giving him occasion to repeat to me, it coming from him against the *gré*, I perceive, of my Lord Treasurer, I was content therewith, and went out. All the talk of Scotland, where the highest report, I perceive, runs but upon three or four hundred in arms; but they believe that it will grow more, and do seem to apprehend it much, as if the King of France had a hand in it. My Lord Lauderdale do make nothing of it, it seems, and people do censure him for it, he from the beginning saying that there was nothing in it, whereas it do appear to be a pure rebellion; but no persons of quality being in it, all do hope that it cannot amount to much. Here I saw Mrs. Stuart this afternoon, methought the beautifullest creature that ever I saw in my life, more than ever I thought her, so often as I have seen her; and I do begin to think do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least now. This being St. Katherine's day, the Queen was at mass by seven o'clock this morning; and Mr. Ashburnham do say that he never saw anyone have so much zeal in his life as she hath: and, the question being asked by my Lady Carteret, much beyond the bigotry that ever the old Queen-mother had. I spoke with Mr. May,<sup>1</sup> who tells me that the design of building the City do go on apace,<sup>2</sup> and by his description it will be mighty handsome, and to the satisfaction of the people; but I pray God it come not out too late. Mr. Ashburnham today at dinner told how the rich fortune Mrs. Mallett reports of her servants:<sup>3</sup> that my Lord Herbert<sup>4</sup> would have her; my Lord Hinchinbroke was indifferent to have her; my Lord John Butler<sup>5</sup> might not have her; my Lord of Rochester would have forced her; and Sir — Popham,<sup>6</sup> who nevertheless is likely to have her, would do anything to have her.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hugh May.

<sup>2</sup> The first brick laid after the fire was in Fleet Street, at the house of a plumber, to cast his lead in, only one room (Rugge's *Diurnal*).

<sup>3</sup> i.e. lovers.

<sup>4</sup> William Lord Herbert succeeded his father as sixth Earl of Pembroke, 1669: *ob.* unmarried 1674.

<sup>5</sup> Seventh son of the Duke of Ormond, created in 1676 Baron of Aghrim, Viscount of Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran: *ob.* 1677, *s.p.*

<sup>6</sup> Probably Sir Francis Popham, K.B.

<sup>7</sup> The expression in the original, being indelicate, is softened.

26th. Into the House of Parliament, where, at a great Committee, I did hear, as long as I would, the great case against my Lord Mordaunt, for some arbitrary proceedings of his against one Taylor, whom he imprisoned and did all the violence to imaginable, only to get him to give way to his abusing his daughter. Here was Mr. Sawyer,<sup>1</sup> my old chamber-fellow, a counsel against my Lord; and I was glad to see him in so good play. Here I met, before the Committee sat, with my cousin Roger Pepys, the first time I have spoke with him this Parliament. He hath promised to come, and bring Madam Turner with him (who is come to town to see the City, but hath lost all her goods of all kinds in Salisbury Court, Sir William Turner having not endeavoured, in her absence, to save one penny) to dine with me on Friday next. Roger bids me to help him to some good rich widow; for he is resolved to go, and retire wholly, into the country; for, he says, he is confident we shall be all ruined very speedily, by what he sees in the State. No news from the North at all today; and the news-book makes the business nothing, but that they are all dispersed.

27th. At Sir G. Carteret's find my Lord Hinchinbroke, who promises to dine with me tomorrow, and bring Mr. Carteret along with him. To my Lord Crewe, and had some good discourse with him, he doubting that all will break in pieces in the kingdom; and that the taxes now coming out, which will tax the same man in three or four several capacities, as for land, office, profession, and money at interest, will be the hardest that ever came out; and do think that we owe it, and the lateness of its being given, wholly to the unpreparedness of the King's own party to make their demand and choice; for they have obstructed the giving it by land-tax, which had been done long since. Having ended my visit, I spoke to Sir Thomas Crewe, to invite him and his brother John to dinner, tomorrow; and so homewards, calling at the cook's, who is to dress it, to bespeak him, and then home, and there set things in order for a very fine dinner.

28th. To White Hall, where, though it blows hard and rains hard, yet the Duke of York is gone a-hunting. We therefore lost our labour, and so to get things ready against dinner at home; and at noon comes my Lord Hinchinbroke, Sir Thomas Crewe, Mr. John Crewe, Mr. Carteret, and Brisband. I had six noble dishes for them, dressed by a man-cook, and commended, as indeed they

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Robert Sawyer, attorney-general from 1681 to 1687: ob. 1692. He had been admitted a pensioner at Magdalene College, June 1648.

Parliament did give him some money. So the King did of himself bid me to declare to all that would take our tallies for payment, that he should, soon as the Parliament's money do come in, take back their tallies and give them money: which I giving him occasion to repeat to me, it coming from him against the *gré*, I perceive, of my Lord Treasurer, I was content therewith, and went out. All the talk of Scotland, where the highest report, I perceive, runs but upon three or four hundred in arms; but they believe that it will grow more, and do seem to apprehend it much, as if the King of France had a hand in it. My Lord Lauderdale do make nothing of it, it seems, and people do censure him for it, he from the beginning saying that there was nothing in it, whereas it do appear to be a pure rebellion; but no persons of quality being in it, all do hope that it cannot amount to much. Here I saw Mrs. Stuart this afternoon, methought the beautifullest creature that ever I saw in my life, more than ever I thought her, so often as I have seen her; and I do begin to think do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least now. This being St. Katherine's day, the Queen was at mass by seven o'clock this morning; and Mr. Ashburnham do say that he never saw anyone have so much zeal in his life as she hath: and, the question being asked by my Lady Carteret, much beyond the bigotry that ever the old Queen-mother had. I spoke with Mr. May,<sup>1</sup> who tells me that the design of building the City do go on apace,<sup>2</sup> and by his description it will be mighty handsome, and to the satisfaction of the people; but I pray God it come not out too late. Mr. Ashburnham today at dinner told how the rich fortune Mrs. Mallett reports of her servants:<sup>3</sup> that my Lord Herbert<sup>4</sup> would have her; my Lord Hinchinbroke was indifferent to have her; my Lord John Butler<sup>5</sup> might not have her; my Lord of Rochester would have forced her; and Sir — Popham,<sup>6</sup> who nevertheless is likely to have her, would do anything to have her.<sup>7</sup>

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gentleman did give him a rap over the pate with his cane, of which fray the Judges, they say, will make a great matter: men are only sorry the gentleman did proceed to return a blow; for, otherwise, my Lord would have been soundly fined for the affront, and may be yet for his affront to the Judges.

30th. To White Hall; and pretty to see, it being St. Andrew's day, how some few did wear St. Andrew's cross. But most did make a mockery at it, and the House of Parliament, contrary to practice, did sit also, people having no mind to observe the Scotch saints' days till they hear better news from Scotland.

December 1st. Walking to the Old Swan, I did see a cellar in Tower Street in a very fresh fire, the late great winds having blown it up. It seemed to be only of logwood, that hath kept the fire all this while in it. Going further, I met my late Lord Mayor Bludworth, under whom the City was burned. But, Lord! the silly talk that this silly fellow had, only how ready he would be to part with all his estate in these difficult times to advocate the King's service, and complaining that now, as everybody did lately in the fire, everybody endeavours to save himself, and let the whole perish: but a very weak man he seems to be. By coach home, in the evening, calling at Faithorne's, buying three of my Lady Castlemaine's heads, printed this day, which indeed is, as to the head, I think, a very fine picture, and like her. I did this afternoon get Mrs. Michell to let me only have a sight of a pamphlet lately printed, but suppressed and much called after, called 'The Catholics' Apology':<sup>1</sup> lamenting the severity of the Parliament against them, and comparing it with the lenity of other princes to Protestants; giving old and late instances of their loyalty to their princes, whatever is objected against them; and excusing their disquiets in Queen Elizabeth's time, for that it was impossible for them to think her a lawful Queen, if Queen Mary, who had been owned as such, were so; one being the daughter of the true, and the other of a false wife; and that of the Gunpowder Treason, by saying that it was only the practice of some of us, if not the King, to trepan some of their religion into it, it never being defended by the generality of their Church, nor indeed known by them; and

<sup>1</sup> *An Apology in behalf of the Papists*, by Roger Palmer, first Earl of Castlemaine. The piece has not his name, but it was answered by Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1667; and Lord Castlemaine and Robert Pugh, a secular priest, his assistant, published a reply to the bishop in 1668. Both the earl's pamphlets were seized, by order of the House of Commons (Walpole's *Noble Authors*).

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but they were so served the last year, among others his Lord, in raising forces at their own charge, for fear of the French invading us, that they will not be got out now, without money advanced to them by the King, and this is likely to be the King's case for certain, if ever he comes to have need of any army. By water to Westminster, and there to the Exchequer and put my tallies in a way of doing for the last quarter. At noon home, and there find Kate Joyce, who dined with me. Her husband and she are weary of their new life of being an innkeeper, and will leave it and would fain get some office; but I know none the fool is fit for. W. Joyce now has all the trade, she says, the trade being come to that end of the town. To bed with more cheerfulness than I have been a good while, to hear that for certain the Scotch rebels are all routed, they having been so bold as to come within three miles of Edinburgh, and there given two or three repulses to the King's forces, but at last were mastered. Three or four hundred killed or taken, among which their leader, Wallis, and seven ministers, they having all taken the Covenant a few days before, and sworn to live and die in it, as they did; and so all is likely to be there quiet again. There is also the very good news come of four New England ships come home safe to Falmouth with masts for the King; which is a blessing mighty unexpected, and without which, if for nothing else, we must have failed the next year. But God be praised for thus much good fortune, and send us the continuance of His favour in other things!

5th. Goodgroom dined with us, who teaches my wife to sing. I did give him my song 'Beauty, retire.' To the office, and then home to supper and talk, and then scold with my wife for not reckoning well the times that her music-master has been with her, but setting down more than I am sure, and did convince her, they had been; and in all ill humour of anger with her to bed.

6th. Harman dined with us, and great sport to hear him tell how Will Joyce grows rich by the custom of the City coming to his end of the town, and how he rants over his brother and sister for their keeping an inn, and goes thither and tears like a prince, calling him hosteller and his sister hostess. After dinner my wife and brother, in another habit,<sup>1</sup> go out to see a play; but I am not to take notice that I know of my brother's going. This day, in the Gazette, is the whole story of defeating of the Scotch rebels,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. without his canonicals.

and of the creation of the Duke of Cambridge Knight of the Garter.<sup>1</sup>

7th. Up, and by water to the Exchequer, where I got my tallies finished for the last quarter for Tangier, and having paid all my fees, I to the Swan, whither I sent for some oysters, and thither comes Mr. Falconbridge and Spicer and many more clerks. And there we eat and drank, and a great deal of their sorry discourse, and so parted and I by coach home to dinner; where finding the cloth laid and much crumpled but clean, I grew angry and flung the trenchers about the room, and in a mighty heat I was. So a clean cloth was laid, and my poor wife very patient; and so to dinner, and in comes Mrs. Barbara Sheldon, now Mrs. Wood, and dined with us, she mighty fine, and lives, I perceive, mighty happily, which I am glad of for her sake, but hate her husband for a blockhead in his choice. After dinner to the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I came in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of 'The Maid's Tragedy'; a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor; and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publicly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by anybody to be at a play.

8th. The great Proviso passed the House of Parliament yesterday; which makes the King and Court mad, the King having given order to my Lord Chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the Parliament-men that were there to go to the Parliament presently. This is true, it seems; but it was carried against the Court by thirty or forty voices. It is a Proviso to the Poll Bill, that there shall be a Committee of nine persons that shall have the inspection upon oath, and power of giving others, of all the accounts of the money given and spent for this war. This hath a most sad face, and will breed very ill blood. He tells me, brought in by Sir Robert Howard,<sup>2</sup> who is one of the King's

<sup>1</sup> James, Earl and Duke of Cambridge, second son of the Duke of York, and one of the five boys who all died infants: at the time when he was created K.G., he was only three years and five months old. He died seven months afterwards.

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servants, at least hath a great office, and hath got, they say, £20,000 since the King came in. Mr. Pierce did also tell me as a great truth, as being told it by Mr. Cowley,<sup>1</sup> who was by and heard it, that Tom Killigrew should publicly tell the King that his matters were coming into a very ill state; but that yet there was a way to help all. Says he, 'There is a good, honest, able man, that I could name, that if your Majesty would employ, and command to see all things well executed, all things would soon be mended; and this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in employing his lips and lusts about the Court, and hath no other employment; but if you would give him this employment, he were the fittest man in the world to perform it.' This, he says, is most true; but the King do not profit by any of this, but lays all aside, and remembers nothing, but to his pleasures again; which is a sorrowful consideration. To the King's playhouse, and there did see a good part of 'The English Monsieur,'<sup>2</sup> which is a mighty pretty play, very witty and pleasant. And the women do very well; but, above all, little Nelly,<sup>3</sup> that I am mightily pleased with the play, and much with the house, more than ever I expected, the women doing better than ever I expected, and very fine women. Here I was in pain to be seen, and hid myself; but, as God would have it, Sir John Chicheley come, and sat just by me. I hear that this Proviso in Parliament is mightily ill taken by all the Court party as a mortal blow, and that that strikes deep into the King's prerogative, which troubles me mightily. In much fear of ill news of our colliers. A fleet of two hundred sail, and fourteen Dutch men-of-war between them and us: and they coming home with small convoy; and the City in great want, coals being at £3 3s. per chaldron, as I am told. I saw smoke in the ruins this very day.

9th. (Lord's day.) Up, not to church, but to my chamber, and there begun to enter into this book my journal for September, which in the fire-time I could not enter here, but in loose papers. At noon dined, and then to my chamber all the afternoon and night, looking over and tearing and burning all the unnecessary letters, which I have had upon my file for four or five years backward, which I intend to do quite through all my papers, that I may have nothing by me but what is worth keeping and fit to be seen, if I should miscarry.

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Cowley, the poet.

<sup>2</sup> A comedy, by the Honourable James Howard, printed in 4to, 1674.

<sup>3</sup> She played Lady Wealthy.



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Exchange since the burning of the City; and it is strange to see how it do cheer up men's hearts. Here I saw shops now come to be in this Exchange, and met little Batelier, who sits here but at £3 per annum, whereas he sat at the other at £100, which he says he believes will prove of as good account to him now as the other did at that rent. From the 'Change to Captain Cocke's, and there, by agreement, dined, and there was Charles Porter, Temple Fenn, Debasty, whose bad English and pleasant discourses was exceeding good entertainment, Matt, Wren, Major Cooper, and myself, mighty merry and pretty discourse. They talk for certain, that now the King do follow Mrs. Stuart wholly, and my Lady Castlemaine not above once a week; that the Duke of York do not haunt my Lady Denham so much; that she troubles him with matters of State, being of my Lord Bristol's faction, and that he avoids; that she is ill still. News this day from Brampton, of Mr. Ensum, my sister's sweetheart, being dead: a clown.

13th. Met Captain Cocke, and had a second time his direction to bespeak £100 of plate, which I did at Sir R. Viner's, being twelve plates more, and something else I have to choose. W. Hewer dined with me, and showed me a Gazette,<sup>1</sup> in April last, which I wonder should never be remembered by anybody, which

<sup>1</sup> The Gazette of 23rd-26th April 1666, which contains the following remarkable passage:

'At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, John Rathbone, an old Army Colonel, William Saunders, Henry Tucker, Thomas Flint, Thomas Evans, John Myles, Will. Westcot, and John Cole, officers or soldiers in the late Rebellion, were indicted for conspiring the death of his Majesty, and the overthrow of the Government. Having laid their plot and contrivance for the surprisal of the Tower, the killing his Grace the Lord General, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir Richard Brown: and then to have declared for an equal division of lands, &c. *The better to effect this hellish design, the City was to have been fired, and the portcullis let down to keep out all assistance; and the Horse Guard to have been surprised in the Inns where they were quartered, several ostlers having been gained for that purpose. The Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprise ordered by boats over the moat, and from thence to scale the wall. One Alexander, not yet taken, had likewise distributed money to these conspirators, and, for the carrying on the design more effectually, they were told of a Council of the great ones that sat frequently in London, from whom issued all orders; which Council received their directions from another in Holland, who sat with the States; and that the third of September was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lilly's Almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfall of Monarchy. The evidence against these persons was very full and clear, and they were accordingly found guilty of High Treason.'*

and of the creation of the Duke of Cambridge Knight of the Garter.<sup>1</sup>

7th. Up, and by water to the Exchequer, where I got my tallies finished for the last quarter for Tangier, and having paid all my fees, I to the Swan, whither I sent for some oysters, and thither comes Mr. Falconbridge and Spicer and many more clerks. And there we eat and drank, and a great deal of their sorry discourse, and so parted and I by coach home to dinner; where finding the cloth laid and much crumpled but clean, I grew angry and flung the trenchers about the room, and in a mighty heat I was. So a clean cloth was laid, and my poor wife very patient; and so to dinner, and in comes Mrs. Barbara Sheldon, now Mrs. Wood, and dined with us, she mighty fine, and lives, I perceive, mighty happily, which I am glad of for her sake, but hate her husband for a blockhead in his choice. After dinner to the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I came in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of 'The Maid's Tragedy'; a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor; and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publicly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by anybody to be at a play.

8th. The great Proviso passed the House of Parliament yesterday; which makes the King and Court mad, the King having given order to my Lord Chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the Parliament-men that were there to go to the Parliament presently. This is true, it seems; but it was carried against the Court by thirty or forty voices. It is a Proviso to the Poll Bill, that there shall be a Committee of nine persons that shall have the inspection upon oath, and power of giving others, of all the accounts of the money given and spent for this war. This hath a most sad face, and will breed very ill blood. He tells me, brought in by Sir Robert Howard,<sup>2</sup> who is one of the King's

<sup>1</sup> James, Earl and Duke of Cambridge, second son of the Duke of York, and one of the five boys who all died infants: at the time when he was created K.G., he was only three years and five months old. He died seven months afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> A younger son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire; educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge; knighted at the Restoration, and chosen M.P. for Stockbridge, and afterwards for Castle Rising. He was auditor of the Exchequer, and a creature of Charles II, who employed him in cajoling the Parliament for money. He published some poems, plays, and political tracts. *Ob.* 1698.

mitted; and so it was, which they reckon good news. Home, where I find Foundes his present, of a fair pair of candlesticks and half a dozen of plates, come, which cost him full £50, and is a very pretty present; and here I met with, sealed up, from Sir H. Cholmley, the lampoon, or the mock advice to a painter, abusing the Duke of York and my Lord Sandwich, Pen, and everybody, and the King himself, and all the matters of the Navy and war. I am sorry for my Lord Sandwich's having so great a part in it.

15th. To the office, where my Lord Brouncker, newly come to town, from his being at Chatham and Harwich to spy enormities: and at noon I with him and his lady, Williams, to Captain Cocke's, where a good dinner and very merry. Good news today upon the Exchange, that our Hamburg fleet is got in; and good hopes that we may soon have the like of our Gothenburg, and then we shall be well for this winter. And by and by comes in Matt Wren from the Parliament-house; and tells us that he and all his party of the House, which is the Court party, are fools, and have been made so this day by the wise men of the other side; for, after the Court party had carried it yesterday so powerfully for the Paper Bill, yet now it is laid aside wholly, and to be supplied by a land-tax; which it is true will do well, and will be the sooner finished, which was the great argument for the doing of it. But then it shows them fools, that they would not permit this to have been done six weeks ago, which they might have had. And next, they have parted with the Paper Bill, which, when once begun, might have proved a very good flower in the Crown, as any there. So they are truly outwitted by the other side.

16th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, and there walked up and down to the Queen's side, and there saw my dear Lady Castlemaine, who continues admirable, methinks, and I do not hear but that the King is the same to her still as ever. Anon to chapel, by the King's closet, and heard a very good anthem. Then with Lord Brouncker to Sir W. Coventry's chamber; and there we sat with him and talked. He is weary of anything to do, he says, in the Navy. He tells us this Committee of Accounts will enquire sharply into our office. To Sir P. Neale's chamber, Sir Edward Walker being there and telling us how he hath lost many fine rolls of antiquity in heraldry by the late fire, but hath saved the most of his papers. Here was also Dr. Wallis,<sup>1</sup> the famous scholar

<sup>1</sup> John Wallis, S.T.P., F.R.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry: *ob.* 1703 aged eighty-seven.

and mathematician; but he promises little. Lord Brouncker tells me, that he do not believe the Duke of York will go to sea again, though there are many about the King that would be glad of any occasion to take him out of the world, he standing in their ways; and seemed to mean the Duke of Monmouth, who spends his time the most viciously and idle of any man, nor will be fit for anything; yet he speaks as if it were not impossible but the King would own him for his son, and that there was a marriage between his mother and him; and that nothing can help us but the King's making a peace soon as he hath this money, and thereby putting himself out of debt, and so becoming a good husband, and then he will neither need this nor any other Parliament, till he can have one to his mind: for no Parliament can, as he says, be kept long good, but that they will spoil one another, and that therefore it hath been the practice of kings to tell Parliaments what he hath for them to do, and give them so long time to do it in, and no longer.

17th. Comes Mr. Cæsar,<sup>1</sup> and then Goodgroome,<sup>2</sup> and, what with one and the other, nothing but music with me this morning, to my content; and the more, to see that God Almighty hath put me into condition to bear the charge of all this. So out to the 'Change, and did a little business, and then home, where they two musicians and Mr. Cooke come to see me, and Mercer to go along with my wife this afternoon to a play. My wife well home in the evening from the play; which I was glad of, it being cold and dark, and she having her necklace of pearl on, and none but Mercer with her. Spent the evening in fitting my books, to have the number set upon each, in order to my having an alphabet of my whole, which will be of great ease to me.

18th. I hear the ill news that poor Batters, that had been born and bred a seaman, and brought up his ship from sea but yesterday, was, going down from me to his ship, drowned in the Thames; which is a sad fortune, and do make me afraid, and will do, more than ever I was.

19th. Talked of the King's family with Mr. Hingston, the organist. He says many of the music are ready to starve, they

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cæsar seems to have been a composer. Some of his songs are in different collections of the time, under the name of William Cæsar, *alias* Smegergill.

<sup>2</sup> John Goodgroome, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and a composer of songs, printed in the *Treasury of Music* (Hawkins's *History of Music*). There are also some of his songs in another of Playford's collections.

being five years behind-hand for their wages: nay, Evens, the famous man upon the Harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried at the alms of the parish, and carried to his grave in the dark at night without one link, but that Mr. Hingston met it by chance, and did give 12*d.* to buy two or three links. Thence I up to the Lords' House to enquire for my Lord Bellassis; and there hear how at a conference this morning between the two Houses about the business of the Canary Company, my Lord Buckingham leaning rudely over my Lord Marquis Dorchester,<sup>1</sup> my Lord Dorchester removed his elbow. Duke of Buckingham asked him if he was uneasy; Dorchester replied, yes, and that he durst not do this were he anywhere else: Buckingham replied, yes he would, and that he was a better man than himself: Dorchester said that he lied. With this Buckingham struck off his hat, and took him by his periwig, and pulled it aside, and held him. My Lord Chamberlain and others interposed, and, upon coming into the House, the Lords did order them both to the Tower, whither they are to go this afternoon. I down into the Hall, and there the Lieutenant of the Tower took me with him, and would have me to the Tower to dinner; where I dined at the head of his table, next his lady,<sup>2</sup> who is comely and seeming sober and stately, but very proud and very cunning, or I am mistaken, and wanton, too. This day's work will bring the Lieutenant of the Tower £350. Thence home, and upon Tower Hill saw about 3 or 400 seamen get together; and one, standing upon a pile of bricks, made his sign with his handkercher upon his stick, and called all the rest to him, and several shouts they gave. This made me afraid; so I got home as fast as I could. But by and by Sir W. Batten and Sir R. Ford do tell me that the seamen have been at some prisons, to release some scameu, and the Duke of Albemarle is in arms, and all the Guards at the other end of the town; and the Duke of Albemarle is gone with some forces to Wapping, to quell the seamen; which is a thing of infinite disgrace to us. I sat long talking with them; and, among other things, Sir R. Ford make me understand how the House of Commons is a beast not to be understood, it being impossible to know beforehand the success almost of any small plain thing, there

<sup>1</sup> Henry Pierrepont, second Earl of Kingston, created Marquis of Dorchester, 1645: *ob.* 1680. See an account of this quarrel in Lord Clarendon's *Life*, vol. iii, p. 153, edition 1827.

<sup>2</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir George Whitmore.

being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds and interests and passions. He did tell me, and so did Sir W. Batten, how Sir Allen Broderick and Sir Allen Apsley did come drunk the other day into the House, and did both speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed or pulled or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart. To supper and to bed, with my heart full of trouble.

20th. Home to dinner, where was Balty come, who is well again. Here dined with me also Mrs. Batters, poor woman! now left a sad widow by the drowning of her husband the other day. I pity her, and will do her what kindness I can. Yet I observe something of ill nature in myself more than should be, that I am colder towards her in my charity than I should be to one so painful as he and she hath been and full of kindness to their power to my wife and I. After dinner out with Balty, setting him down at the Maypole,<sup>1</sup> in the Strand.

21st. I spent all the afternoon in putting some things, pictures especially, in order, and pasting my Lady Castlemaine's print on a frame, which I have made handsome, and is a fine piece.

22d. News from Hogg that our ship hath brought in a Lubecker to Portsmouth, likely to prove prize, of deals.

23d. (Lord's day.) To church, where a vain fellow with a periwig preached, chaplain, as by his prayer appeared, to the Earl of Carlisle.<sup>2</sup>

24th. It being frost and dry, as far as Paul's, and so back again through the City by Guildhall, observing the ruins thereabouts, till I did truly lose myself. I this evening did buy me a pair of green spectacles, to see whether they will help my eyes or no. So to the 'Change, and went to the Upper 'Change, which is almost as good as the old one; only shops are but on one side. No news yet of our Gothenburg fleet; which makes us have some fears, it being of mighty concernment to have our supply of masts safe. I met with Mr. Cade tonight, my stationer; and he tells me that he hears for certain that the Queen-mother is about and hath near

<sup>1</sup> The maypole stood somewhat to the east of the ancient cross, opposite to Chester Inn, close to the site of the church of St. Mary-le-Strand. In 1717 it was begged by Sir Isaac Newton, and removed to Wanstead, where it was used in raising the largest telescope then known.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Howard, created Earl of Carlisle 1661, employed on several embassies, and Governor of Jamaica: *ob.* 1685.

finished a peace with France, which, as a Presbyterian, he do not like, but seems to fear it will be a means to introduce Popery.

25th. (Christmas day.) Lay pretty long in bed, and then rose, leaving my wife desirous to sleep, having sat up till four this morning seeing her maids make mince pies. I to church, where our parson Mills made a good sermon. Then home, and dined well on some good ribs of beef roasted, and mince pies: only my wife brother, and Barker, and plenty of good wine of my own, and my heart full of true joy; and thanks to God Almighty for the goodness of my condition at this day. After dinner I begun to teach my wife and Barker my song, 'It is decreed,' which pleases me mightily, as now I have Mr. Hingston's bass. Walked alone on foot to the Temple, thinking to have seen a play all alone; but there, missing of any bills, concluded there was none, and so back home; and there with my brother reducing the names of all my books to an alphabet, and then to supper and to bed.

26th. To the Duke's House, to a play. It was indifferently done, Gosnell not singing, but a new wench that sings naughtily. Thence home, and there Mr. Andrews to the viol, who plays most excellently on it. Thence to dance, here being Pembleton come, by my wife's direction, and a fiddler; and we got, also, the elder Batelier tonight, and Nan Wright, and mighty merry we were, and danced; and so till twelve at night, and to supper, and then to cross purposes, mighty merry, and then to bed.

27th. Up, and called up by the King's trumpets, which cost me 10s. So to the office. At noon, by invitation, my wife, who had not been there these 10 months, I think, and I, to meet all our families at Sir W. Batten's at dinner, where neither a great dinner for so much company nor anything good or handsome. In the middle of dinner I rose, and by coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw 'The Scornful Lady' well acted, Doll Common<sup>1</sup> doing Abigail most excellently, and Knipp the widow very well, and will be an excellent actor, I think. In other parts the play not so well done as need be, by the old actors. This day a house or two was blown up with powder in the Minories, and several people spoiled, and many dug out from under the rubbish.

28th. I to my Lord Crewe's, where I find and hear the news how my Lord's brother, Mr. Nathaniel Crewe, hath an estate of 6 or £700 per annum, left him by the death of an old acquaintance of his, but not akin to him at all. And this man is dead without will,

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Corey.



being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds and interests and passions. He did tell me, and so did Sir W. Batten, how Sir Allen Broderick and Sir Allen Apsley did come drunk the other day into the House, and did both speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed or pulled or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart. To supper and to bed, with my heart full of trouble.

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my whole spendings last year being but £509; whereas this year, it appears, I have spent £1,154, which is a sum not fit to be said that ever I should spend in one year, before I am master of a better estate than I am. Yet, blessed be God! and I pray God make me thankful for it, I do find myself worth in money, all good, above £6,200; which is above £1,800 more than I was the last year. Thus ends this year of public wonder and mischief to this nation, and, therefore, generally wished by all people to have an end. Myself and family well, having four maids and one clerk, Tom, in my house, and my brother, now with me, to spend time in order to his preferment. Our healths all well, public matters in a most sad condition; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed: nor, as matters are now, can any fleet go out next year. Our enemies, French and Dutch, great, and grow more by our poverty. The Parliament backward in raising, because jealous of the spending of the money; the City less and less likely to be built again, everybody settling elsewhere, and nobody encouraged to trade. A sad, vicious, negligent Court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year; from which, good God deliver us! One thing I reckon remarkable in my own condition is, that I am come to abound in good plate, so as at all entertainments to be served wholly with silver plates, having two dozen and a half.

## 1667

January 1st. Lay long, being a bitter, cold, frosty day, the frost being now grown old, and the Thames covered with ice.

2d. My wife up, and with Mrs. Pen to walk in the fields to frost-bite themselves. I found the Court full of great apprehensions of the French, who have certainly shipped landmen, great numbers, at Brest; and most of our people here guess his design for Ireland. We have orders to send all the ships we can possible to the Downs. God have mercy on us! for we can send forth no ships without men, nor will men go without money, every day

being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds and interests and passions. He did tell me, and so did Sir W. Batten, how Sir Allen Broderick and Sir Allen Apsley did come drunk the other day into the House, and did both speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed or pulled or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart. To supper and to bed, with my heart full of trouble.

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merry; and they full of admiration at my plate. Mr. Lowther a pretty gentleman, too good for Pegg. Sir W. Pen was much troubled to hear the song I sung, 'The New Droll'<sup>1</sup>—it touching him home.

5th. At the office all the morning, thinking at noon to have been taken home by my Lord Brouncker to dinner and then to a play, but he had forgot it, at which I was glad, being glad of avoiding the occasion of inviting him again and being forced to invite his doxy, Mrs. Williams. So home and took a small snap of victuals, and away with my wife to the Duke's House, and there saw 'Mustapha,' a most excellent play. I had seen it before, but forgot it, which is the pleasure of my not committing these things to my memory.

6th. (Lord's day.) To church, where a dull doctor, a stranger, made a dull sermon. Young Michell and I, it being an excellent frosty day, did walk out. He showed me the baker's house, in Pudding Lane, where the late great fire begun: and thence all along Thames Street, where I did view several places, and so up by London Wall, by Blackfriars, to Ludgate; and thence to Bridewell, which I find to have been heretofore an extraordinary good house, and a fine coming to it, before the house by the bridge was built; and so to look about St. Bride's church and my father's house, and so walked home.

7th. Lord Brouncker tells me that my Lady Denham is at last dead. Some suspect her poisoned, but it will be best known when her body is opened today, she dying yesterday morning. The Duke of York is troubled for her, but hath declared he will never have another public mistress again; which I shall be glad of, and would the King would do the like. He tells me how the Parliament is grown so jealous of the King's being unfair to them in the business of the Bill for examining Accounts, Irish Bill, and the business of the Papists, that they will not pass the business for money till they see themselves secure that those Bills will pass; which they do observe the Court to keep off till all the Bills come together, that the King may accept what he pleases, and what he pleases to reject. He tells me how Mr. Henry Howard, of Norfolk, hath given<sup>2</sup> our Royal Society all his grandfather's

<sup>1</sup> There is a song called 'The New Droll,' in a scarce volume, entitled *The Loyal Garland*, printed for T. Perssinger, at the 'Three Bibles, on London Bridge, 1686: see *Fugitive Tracts*, published by the Percy Society in 1849.

<sup>2</sup> At Evelyn's suggestion.

library: <sup>1</sup> which noble gift they value at £1,000; and gives them accommodation to meet in at his house, Arundel House, they being now disturbed at Gresham College. To the Duke's House, and saw 'Macbeth,' which, though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable. Good news of Hogg's bringing in two prizes more to Plymouth.

8th. My uncle Thomas with me to receive his quarterage. He tells me his son Thomas is set up in Smithfield, where he hath a shop—I suppose a booth. Saw the catalogue of my books, which my brother hath wrote out, now perfectly alphabetical.

9th. In a hackney coach to White Hall, the way being most horribly bad upon the breaking up of the frost, so as not to be passed almost. I do hear, by my Lord Brouncker, that for certain Sir W. Coventry hath resigned his place of Commissioner; which I believe he hath done upon good grounds of security to himself from all the blame which must attend our Office this next year; but I fear the King will suffer by it. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there to the conference of the Houses about the word 'Nuisance,' <sup>2</sup> which the Commons would have, and the Lords will not, in the Irish Bill. The Commons do it professedly to prevent the King's dispensing with it; which Sir Robert Howard and others did expressly repeat often: viz., 'that no King ever could do anything which was hurtful to his people.' Now the Lords did argue, that it was an ill precedent, and that which will ever hereafter be used as a way of preventing the King's dispensation with acts; and therefore rather advise to pass the Bill without that word, and let it go accompanied with a petition to the King, that he will not dispense with it, this being a more civil way to the King. They answered well, that this do imply that the King should pass their Bill, and yet with design to dispense with it;

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Mr. Howard gave the society all the printed books: but the manuscripts he divided between the society and the College of Arms. In the year 1831 an arrangement was made between the trustees of the British Museum and the Royal Society, by which the society's portion of the manuscripts was transferred to the museum, where they are now preserved for public use, and known as the Arundel MSS.

<sup>2</sup> In the 'Bill against importing Cattle from Ireland and other parts beyond the Seas,' the Lords proposed to insert 'Detriment and Mischief' instead of 'Nuisance.' The Lords finally consented that the latter word should stand in the Bill (*Commons' Journals*).

which is to suppose the King guilty of abusing them. And more, they produce precedents for it; namely, that against new buildings, and about leather, where the word 'Nuisance' is used to the purpose: and further, that they do not rob the King of any right he ever had, for he never had a power to do hurt to his people, nor would exercise it; and therefore there is no danger, in the passing this Bill, of imposing on his prerogative; and concluded, that they think they ought to do this, so as the people may really have the benefit of it when it is passed, for never any people could expect so reasonably to be indulged something from a King, they having already given him so much money, and are likely to give more. Thus they broke up, both adhering to their opinions; but the Commons seemed much more full of judgment and reason than the Lords. Then the Commons made their Report to the Lords of their vote, that their Lordships' proceedings in the Bill for examining Accounts were unparliamentary, they having, while a Bill was sent up to them from the Commons about the business, petitioned his Majesty that he would do the same thing by his Commission. They did give their reasons: viz., that it had no precedent; that the King ought not to be informed of anything passing in the Houses till it comes to a Bill; that it will wholly break off all correspondence between the two Houses, and in the issue wholly infringe the very use and being of Parliaments. Thence to Faithorne, and bought a head or two; one of them my Lord of Ormond's, the best I ever saw. To Arundel House, where first the Royal Society meet, by the favour of Mr. Harry Howard who was there. And here was a great meeting of worthy noble persons; but my Lord Brouncker, who pretended to make a congratulatory speech upon their coming hither, and great thanks to Mr. Howard, did do it in the worst manner in the world.

11th. Sir W. Warren told me, how my Lord Brouncker should take notice of the two flagons he saw at my house at dinner, at my late feast, and merrily, yet I know enviously, said I could not come honestly by them. This I am glad to hear, though vexed to see his ignoble soul, but I shall beware of him; and yet it is fit he should see I am no mean fellow, but can live in the world and have something.

14th. Busy till night, pleasing myself mightily to see what a deal of business goes off of a man's hands when he stays by it. Sir W. Batten tells me the Lords do agree at last with the Commons about the word 'Nuisance' in the Irish Bill, and do desire a

library: <sup>1</sup> which noble gift they value at £1,000; and gives them accommodation to meet in at his house, Arundel House, they being now disturbed at Gresham College. To the Duke's House, and saw 'Macbeth,' which, though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable. Good news of Hogg's bringing in two prizes more to Plymouth.

8th. My uncle Thomas with me to receive his quarterage. He tells me his son Thomas is set up in Smithfield, where he hath a shop—I suppose a booth. Saw the catalogue of my books, which my brother hath wrote out, now perfectly alphabetical.

9th. In a hackney coach to White Hall, the way being most horribly bad upon the breaking up of the frost, so as not to be passed almost. I do hear, by my Lord Brouncker, that for certain Sir W. Coventry hath resigned his place of Commissioner; which I believe he hath done upon good grounds of security to himself from all the blame which must attend our Office this next year; but I fear the King will suffer by it. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there to the conference of the Houses about the word 'Nuisance,' <sup>2</sup> which the Commons would have, and the Lords will not, in the Irish Bill. The Commons do it professedly to prevent the King's dispensing with it; which Sir Robert Howard and others did expressly repeat often: viz., 'that no King ever could do anything which was hurtful to his people.' Now the Lords did argue, that it was an ill precedent, and that which will ever hereafter be used as a way of preventing the King's dispensation with acts; and therefore rather advise to pass the Bill without that word, and let it go accompanied with a petition to the King, that he will not dispense with it, this being a more civil way to the King. They answered well, that this do imply that the King should pass their Bill, and yet with design to dispense with it;

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Mr. Howard gave the society all the printed books: but the manuscripts he divided between the society and the College of Arms. In the year 1831 an arrangement was made between the trustees of the British Museum and the Royal Society, by which the society's portion of the manuscripts was transferred to the museum, where they are now preserved for public use, and known as the Arundel MSS.

<sup>2</sup> In the 'Bill against importing Cattle from Ireland and other parts beyond the Seas,' the Lords proposed to insert 'Detriment and Mischief' instead of 'Nuisance.' The Lords finally consented that the latter word should stand in the Bill (*Commons' Journals*).

which is to suppose the King guilty of abusing them. And more, they produce precedents for it; namely, that against new buildings, and about leather, where the word 'Nuisance' is used to the purpose: and further, that they do not rob the King of any right he ever had, for he never had a power to do hurt to his people, nor would exercise it; and therefore there is no danger, in the passing this Bill, of imposing on his prerogative; and concluded, that they think they ought to do this, so as the people may really have the benefit of it when it is passed, for never any people could expect so reasonably to be indulged something from a King, they having already given him so much money, and are likely to give more. Thus they broke up, both adhering to their opinions; but the Commons seemed much more full of judgment and reason than the Lords. Then the Commons made their Report to the Lords of their vote, that their Lordships' proceedings in the Bill for examining Accounts were unparliamentary, they having, while a Bill was sent up to them from the Commons about the business, petitioned his Majesty that he would do the same thing by his Commission. They did give their reasons: viz., that it had no precedent; that the King ought not to be informed of anything passing in the Houses till it comes to a Bill; that it will wholly break off all correspondence between the two Houses, and in the issue wholly infringe the very use and being of Parliaments. Thence to Faithorne, and bought a head or two; one of them my Lord of Ormond's, the best I ever saw. To Arundel House, where first the Royal Society meet, by the favour of Mr. Harry Howard who was there. And here was a great meeting of worthy noble persons; but my Lord Brouncker, who pretended to make a congratulatory speech upon their coming hither, and great thanks to Mr. Howard, did do it in the worst manner in the world.

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21st. To the Swede's Resident's<sup>1</sup> in the Piazza, to discourse with him about two of our prizes, wherein he put in his concernment as for his countrymen. We had no satisfaction, nor did give him any; but I find him a cunning fellow. He lives in one of the great houses there but ill furnished, and came to us out of bed in his furred mittens and furred cap. Thence to Exeter House to the Doctors' Commons, and then with our Proctors to Dr. Walker, who did hear our matters, and after a dull-seeming hearing of them read, did discourse most understandingly of them, as well as ever I heard man, telling us all our grounds of pretence to the prize would do no good, which troubled us, but I was mightily taken to hear his manner of discourse. Thence up to the Lords' House, and there come mighty seasonably to hear the Solicitor about my Lord Buckingham's pretence to the title of Lord Ros.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Attorney Montagu is also a good man, and so is old Sir P. Ball;<sup>3</sup> but the Solicitor<sup>4</sup> and Scroggs<sup>5</sup> after him are excellent men. To Deptford, and walked home, and there came into my company three drunken seamen, but one especially, who told me such stories, calling me Captain, as made me mighty merry, and they would leap and skip, and kiss what maids they met all the way. I did at first give them money to drink, lest they should know who I was, and so become troublesome to me. This night, at supper, comes from Sir W. Coventry the Order of Council<sup>6</sup> for my Lord Brouncker to do all the Comptroller's part relating to the Treasurer's accounts, and Sir W. Pen all relating to the Victualler's, and Sir J. Minnes to do the rest. This, I hope, will do much better for the King, and, I think, will give neither of them ground to overtop me, as I feared they would; which pleases me mightily. This evening Mr. Wren and Captain Cocke called upon me at the office, and there told me how the House was in better temper today, and hath passed the Bill for the remainder of the money but not to be passed finally till they have done some other things which they will have passed with it; wherein they are

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Barkman Leyenburg, many years the Swedish Resident in this country.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient barony of De Ros, created by writ in 1264.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Peter Ball, the queen's attorney-general.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Edward Turner.

<sup>5</sup> Sir William Scroggs, king's serjeant, 1669; afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

<sup>6</sup> Dated 16th January 1666-7, and printed in *Memoirs relating to the Conduct of the Navy*, 8vo, 1729, p. 59.

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only on, and his little bed without sheets, and no feather-bed; but yet, I thought, soft enough. His cord about his middle; but in so good company, living with ease, I thought it a very good life. A pretty library they have. And I was in the refectoire, where every man his napkin, knife, cup of earth, and basin of the same; and a place for one to sit and read while the rest are at meals. And into the kitchen I went, where a good neck of mutton at the fire, and other victuals boiling. I do not think they fared very hard. Their windows all looking into a fine garden and the Park; and mighty pretty rooms all. I wished myself one of the Capuchins. So away with the Almoner in his coach, talking merrily about the difference in our religions, to White Hall, and there we left him. To take up my wife and Mercer, and to Temple Bar to the ordinary, and had a dish of meat for them, they having not dined, and thence to the King's House, and there saw 'The Humorous Lieutenant': a silly play, I think; only the Spirit in it that grows very tall, and then sinks again to nothing, having two heads breeding upon one, and then Knipp's singing, did please us. Here, in a box above, we spied Mrs. Pierce; and, going out, they called us, and so we stayed for them; and Knipp took us all in, and brought to us Nelly,<sup>1</sup> a most pretty woman, who acted the great part of Coelia today very fine, and did it pretty well: I kissed her, and so did my wife; and a mighty pretty soul she is. We also saw Mrs. Hall,<sup>2</sup> which is my little Roman-nose black girl, that is mighty pretty: she is usually called Betty. Knipp made us stay in a box and see the dancing preparatory to tomorrow for 'The Goblins,' a play of Suckling's,<sup>3</sup> not acted these twenty-five years; which was pretty. And so away thence, pleased with this sight also, and specially kissing of Nell. In our way home we find the Guards of horse in the street, and hear the occasion to be news that the seamen are in a mutiny, which put me into a great fright and, when I come home I hear of no disturbance there of the seamen, but that one of them being arrested today, others do go and rescue him.

24th. At the office, we were frighted with news of fire at Sir W. Batten's by a chimney taking fire, and it put me into much fear and trouble, but with a great many hands and pains it was soon stopped. I home, where most of my company come of this end of the town—Mercer and her sister, Mr. Batelier and Pembleton,

<sup>1</sup> Nell Gwynn.

<sup>2</sup> Betty Hall. She was Sir Philip Howard's mistress.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Suckling, the poet.

my Lady Pen and Pegg and Mr. Lowther—but did not stay long, and I believe it was by Sir W. Pen's order; for they had a great mind to have stayed, and also Captain Rolt. And anon, at about seven or eight o'clock, comes Mr. Harris, of the Duke's playhouse, and brings Mrs. Pierce with him, and also one dressed like a country-maid with a straw hat on; and, at first, I could not tell who it was, though I expected Knipp: but it was she coming off the stage just as she acted this day in 'The Goblins'; a merry jade. Now my house is full, and four fiddlers that play well. Harris I first took to my closet, and I find him a very curious and understanding person in all pictures and other things, and a man of fine conversation; and so is Rolt. So away with all my company down to the office, and there fell to dancing, and continued at it an hour or two, there coming Mrs. Anne Jones, a merchant's daughter hard by, who dances well, and all in mighty good humour, and danced with great pleasure; and then sung and then danced, and then sung many things of three voices—both Harris and Rolt singing their parts excellently. Among other things, Harris sung his Irish song—the strangest in itself, and the prettiest sung by him, that ever I heard. Then to supper in the office, a cold, good supper, and wondrous merry. Here was Mrs. Turner, also, and Mrs. Markham. After supper to dancing again and singing, and so continued till almost three in the morning, and then, with extraordinary pleasure, broke up—only towards morning, Knipp fell a little ill, and so my wife home with her to put her to bed, and we continued dancing and singing. And, among other things, our Mercer unexpectedly did happen to sing an Italian song I know not, of which they two sung the other two parts—that did almost ravish me, and made me in love with her more than ever with her singing. As late as it was, yet Rolt and Harris would go home tonight, and walked it, though I had a bed for them; and it proved dark, and a misty night, and very windy. The company being all gone to their homes, I up with Mrs. Pierce to Knipp, who was in bed; and we waked her, and sung a song, and then left my wife to see Mrs. Pierce in bed to her, in our best chamber, and so to bed myself, my mind mightily satisfied: only the music did not please me, they not being contented with less than 30s.

25th. This afternoon I saw the Poll Bill, now printed; wherein I do fear I shall be very deeply concerned, being to be taxed for all my offices, and then for my money that I have, and my title, as well as my head. It is a very great tax; but yet I do think it is so

perplexed, it will hardly ever be collected duly. The late invention of Sir G. Downing's is continued of bringing all the money into the Exchequer; and Sir G. Carteret's threepence is turned for all the money of this act into but a penny per pound, which I am sorry for. This day the House hath passed the Bill for the Assessment, which I am glad of, and also our little Bill, for giving any of us in the Office the power of justice of peace, is done as I would have it.

27th. (Lord's day.) To Sir Philip Warwick, by appointment, to meet Lord Bellasis, and up to his chamber, but find him unwilling to discourse of business on Sundays: so did not enlarge. Went down and sat in a low room, reading 'Erasmus de Scribendis Epistolis,' a very good book, especially one letter of advice to a courtier most true and good, which made me once resolve to tear out the two leaves that it was writ in, but I forbore it. Roger Pepys and I to walk in the Pall Mall. I find by him that the House of Parliament continues full of ill humours; and do say how, in their late Poll Bill, which cost so much time, the yeomanry, and indeed two-thirds of the nation, are left out to be taxed; that there is not effectual provision enough made for collection of the money; and then, that after a man his goods are distrained and sold, and the overplus returned, I am to have ten days to make my complaints of being over-rated if there be cause, when my goods are sold, and that is too late. These things they are resolved to look into again, and mend them before they rise, which they expect at furthest on Thursday next. Here we met with Mr. May,<sup>1</sup> and he and we to talk of several things, of building and such like matters. Walked to White Hall, and there I showed my cousin Roger the Duchess of York sitting in state, while her own mother stands by her; and my Lady Castlemaine, whom he approves to be very handsome, and wonders that she cannot be as good within as she is fair without. Her little black boy came by him; and a dog being in his way, the little boy swore at the dog: 'Now,' says he, blessing himself, 'would I whip this child till the blood come, if it were my child!' and I believe he would. But he do by no means like the liberty of the Court, and did come with expectation of finding them playing at cards tonight, though Sunday; for such stories he is told, but how true I know not. My wife tells me Mr. Frampton is gone to sea, and so she lost her labour today in thinking to hear him preach.

<sup>1</sup> Hugh May.

28th. To Westminster, where I spent the morning at the Lords' House door, to hear the conference between the two Houses about my Lord Mordaunt, of which there was great expectation, many hundreds of people coming to hear it. But, when they came, the Lords did insist upon my Lord Mordaunt's having leave to sit upon a stool uncovered within their bar, and that he should have counsel, which the Commons would not suffer, but desired leave to report their Lordships' resolution to the House of Commons; and so parted for this day, which troubled me, I having by this means lost the whole day. Here I hear from Mr. Hayes that Prince Rupert is very bad still, and so bad, that he do now yield to be trepanned. Much work I find there is to do in the two Houses in a little time, and much difference there is between them in many things to be reconciled: as in the Bill for examining our accounts; Lord Mordaunt's; Bill for building the City; and several others. Home by coach, calling at Broad Street and taking the goldsmith home with me, and I paid him £15 15s. for my silver standish. He tells me gold holds up its price still, and did desire me to let him have what old 20s. pieces I have, and he would give me 3s. 2d. change for each. Comes Mr. Gauden at my desire to me, and tomorrow I shall pay him some money, and shall see what present he will make me, the hopes of which do make me part with my money out of my chest, which I should not otherwise do. After supper and reading a little, and my wife's cutting off my hair short, which is grown too long upon my crown of my head, I to bed.

29th. To the office, where Sir W. Pen and I look much askew one upon another, though afterward business made us speak friendly enough, but yet we hate one another. Sir W. Batten came to me, and tells me that there is news upon the Exchange today, that my Lord Sandwich's coach and the French Ambassador's at Madrid, meeting and contending for the way, they shot my Lord's postillion and another man dead; and that we have killed 25 of theirs, and that my Lord is well. How true this is I cannot tell. Comes Mrs. Turner to me, to make her complaint of her sad usage from my Lord Brouncker, that he thinks much she hath not already got another house, though he himself hath employed her night and day ever since his first naming of the matter, to make part of her house ready for him, as he ordered, and promised she should stay till she had fitted herself; by which I perceive he is a rotten-hearted, false man, and, therefore, I must beware of

him accordingly. I did pity the woman, and gave her the best counsel I could; and so, falling to other discourse, I made her laugh and merry, as sad as she came to me; so that I perceive no passion in a woman can be lasting long.

30th. Fast-day for the King's death. About eight at night, it being a little moonshine and fair weather, into the garden, and with Mercer sang till my wife put me in mind of its being a fast-day; and so I was sorry for it, and stopped, and home to cards.

31st. Mr. Osborne comes from Mr. Gauden, and takes money and notes for £4,000, and leaves me acknowledgment for £4,800 and odd; implying as if D. Gauden would give the £800 between Povy and myself, but how he will divide it I know not. The Parliament is not yet up, being finishing some Bills. Thus the month ends: myself in very good health and content of mind in my family. All our heads full in the office at this dividing of the Comptroller's duty. Parliament, upon breaking up, having given the King money with much ado and great heats, and neither side pleased, neither King nor them. The imperfection of the Poll Bill, which must be mended before they rise, there being several horrible oversights to the prejudice of the King, is a certain sign of the care anybody hath of the King's business. Nobody knows who commands the fleet next year, or, indeed, whether we shall have a fleet or no. Great preparations in Holland and France, and the French have lately taken Antigo [Antigua] from us, which vexes us.

February 1st. Much surprised to hear this day at Deptford that Mrs. Batters is going already to be married to him that is now the Captain of her husband's ship. She seemed the most passionate mourner in the world.

2d. This night comes home my new silver snuff-dish, which I do give myself for my closet. I am very well pleased this night with reading a poem I brought home with me last night from Westminster Hall, of Dryden's,<sup>1</sup> upon the present war; a very good poem.

3d. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, and there to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there stayed till he was ready, talking, and among other things of the Prince's being trepanned, which was in doing just as we passed through the Stone Gallery, we asking at the door of his lodgings, and were told so. We are full of wishes for the good success; though I dare say but few do really concern ourselves for him in our hearts. With others into the House, and there hear

<sup>1</sup> *Annus Mirabilis.*



that the work is done to the Prince in a few minutes without any pain at all to him, he not knowing when it was done. It was performed by Moulins. Having cut the outward table, as they call it, they find the inner all corrupted, so as it came out without any force; and their fear is, that the whole inside of his head is corrupted like that, which do yet make them afraid of him; but no ill accident appeared in the doing of the thing, but all with all imaginable success, as Sir Alexander Frazier did tell me himself, I asking him, who is very kind to me. To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; and before dinner he tells me that he believes the Duke of York will go to sea with the fleet, which I am sorry for in respect to his person, but yet there is no person in condition to command the fleet, now the Captains are grown so great, but him. By and by to dinner, where very good company. Among other discourse, we talked much of Nostradamus<sup>1</sup> his prophecy of these times, and the burning of the City of London,<sup>2</sup> some of whose verses are put into Booker's<sup>3</sup> Almanack this year: and Sir G. Carteret did tell a story, how at his death he did make the town swear that he should never be dug up, or his tomb opened, after he was buried; but they did after sixty years do it, and upon his breast they found a plate of brass, saying what a wicked and unfaithful people the people of that place were, who after so many vows should disturb and open him such a day and year and hour; which, if true, is very strange. Then we fell to talking of the burning of the City, and my Lady Carteret herself did tell us how abundance of pieces of burnt papers were cast by the wind as far as Cranborne;<sup>4</sup> and among others she took up one, or had one brought her to see, which was a little bit of paper that had been printed, whereon there remained no more nor less than these words: 'Time is, it is done.'<sup>5</sup> Away home, and received some letters from Sir W. Coventry, touching the want of victuals to Kempthorne's<sup>6</sup> fleet going to the Straits and

<sup>1</sup> Michael Nostradamus, a physician and astrologer, born in the diocese of Avignon, 1503. He died at Salon, July 1566.

<sup>2</sup> Roger L'Estrange, whose office it was to license the Almanacs, told Sir Edward Walker, 'that most of them did foretell the fire of London last year, but he caused it to be put out' (*Ward's Diary*, p. 94).

<sup>3</sup> John Booker, an eminent astrologer and writing-master at Hadley.

<sup>4</sup> In Windsor Forest.

<sup>5</sup> Sir C. Wren, it is well known, took up a stone from the ruins of St. Paul's having the word 'Resurgam' inscribed, which he adopted.

<sup>6</sup> John Kempthorne, a distinguished naval officer, afterwards knighted and made Commissioner at Portsmouth, which place he represented in Parliament. *Ob.* 1679.

now in the Downs: which did trouble me, he saying that this disappointment might prove fatal; and the more, because Sir W. Coventry do intend to come to the office upon business tomorrow morning, and I shall not know what answer to give him. Fell to read a little in Hakewill's apology,<sup>1</sup> and did satisfy myself mighty fair in the truth of the saying that the world do not grow old at all, but is in as good condition in all respects as ever it was as to nature.

4th. D. Gauden did give me a good cordial this morning, by telling me that he do give me five of the eight hundred pounds on his account remaining in my hands to myself, for the service I do him in my victualling business, and £100 for my particular share of the profits of my Tangier employment as Treasurer. When Sir W. Coventry did come, and the rest met, I did appear unconcerned, and did give him answer pretty satisfactory what he asked me; so that I did get off this meeting without any ground lost. Soon as dined, my wife and I out to the Duke's playhouse, and there saw 'Heraclius,' an excellent play, to my extraordinary content; and the more from the house being very full, and great company; among others, Mrs. Stuart, very fine, with her locks done up with puffs, as my wife calls them: and several other great ladies had their hair so, though I do not like it; but my wife do mightily—but it is only because she sees it is the fashion. Here I saw my Lord Rochester and his lady, Mrs. Mallett, who hath after all this ado married him; and, as I hear some say in the pit, it is a great act of charity, for he hath no estate. But it was pleasant to see how everybody rose up when my Lord John Butler, the Duke of Ormond's son,<sup>2</sup> came into the pit towards the end of the play, who was a servant to Mrs. Mallett, and now smiled upon her, and she on him. I had sitting next to me a woman, the likest my Lady Castlemaine that ever I saw anybody like another; but she is acquainted with every fine fellow, and called them by their name, Jack, and Tom, and before the end of the play frisked to another place. Home, and to my chamber, and there finished my catalogue of my books with my own hand.

5th. Heard this morning that the Prince is much better and hath good rest. All the talk is that my Lord Sandwich hath

<sup>1</sup> *An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*, by George Hakewill, a learned divine. Oxford, 1627. The work was frequently reprinted.

<sup>2</sup> Lord John Butler was born in 1643, and in January 1676 married Anne, only daughter of Arthur Chichester, Earl of Donegal. In April 1676 he was created Earl of Gowran. *Ob. s.p.* 1677.

perfected the peace with Spain; which is very good, if true. Sir H. Cholmley was with me this morning, and told me of my Lord Bellassis's base dealings with him by getting him to give him great gratuities to near £2000 for his friendship in the business of the Mole, and hath been lately underhand endeavouring to bring another man into his place as Governor, so as to receive his money of Sir H. Cholmley for nothing. To the King's House, to see 'The Chances.'<sup>1</sup> A good play I find it, and the actors most good in it; and pretty to hear Knipp sing in the play very properly, 'All night I weep';<sup>2</sup> and sung it admirably. The whole play pleases me well, and most of all the sight of many fine ladies—among others, my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Middleton: the latter of the two hath also a very excellent face and body, I think. Thence by coach to the New Exchange, and there laid out money, and I did give Betty Michell two pair of gloves and a dressing-box; and so home in the dark, over the ruins, with a link, to the office. This morning there came to me Mr. Young and Whistler, flag-makers, and with mighty earnestness did present me with, and press me to take, a box, wherein I could not guess there was less than £100 in gold; but I do wholly refuse, and did not at last take it. The truth is, not thinking them safe men to receive such a gratuity from, nor knowing any considerable courtesy that ever I did do them, but desirous to keep myself free from their reports, and to have it in my power to say I had refused their offer.

6th. To Westminster Hall, and walked up and down, and hear that the Prince do still rest well by day and night, and out of pain; so as great hopes are conceived of him: though I did meet Dr. Clerke and Mr. Pierce, and they do say they believe he will not recover it, they supposing that his whole head within is eaten by this corruption, which appeared in this piece of the inner table. To White Hall, to attend the Council; but they sat not today. So to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and find him within, and with a letter from the Downs in his hands, telling the loss of the St. Patrick coming from Harwich in her way to Portsmouth; and would needs chase two ships, she having the Malago fire-ship in company, which from English colours put up Dutch, and he would clap on board the Vice-Admiral; and after long dispute the Admiral

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by John Fletcher, of which an alteration was afterwards, in 1682, brought out by the Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>2</sup> This song is not in Fletcher as printed, nor in the alteration of the play by the duke.

comes on the other side of him, and both together took him. Our fire-ship (Seely) <sup>1</sup> not coming in to fire all three, but came away, leaving her in their possession, and carried away by them: a ship <sup>2</sup> built at Bristol the last year, of fifty guns and upwards, and a most excellent good ship.

7th. Talking with my brother upon matters relating to his journey to Brampton tomorrow, I looking another way, heard him fall down, and turned my head, and he was fallen down all along upon the ground dead, which did put me into a great fright; and, to see my brotherly love! I did presently lift him up from the ground, he being as pale as death; and, being upon his legs, he did presently come to himself, and said he had something come into his stomach very hot. He knew not what it was, nor ever had such a fit before. To the office, late doing business, and then home, and find my brother pretty well. I did this night give him 20s. for books, and as much for his pocket, and 15s. to carry him down. Poor fellow! he is so melancholy, and withal, my wife says, harmless, that I begin to love him, and would be loth he should not do well.

8th. This morning my brother John come up to my bedside, and took his leave of us. I begin to fancy him from yesterday's incident, it troubling me to think I should be left without a brother or son. He gone, I up, and to the office. Sir W. Batten came this morning from the House, where the King hath prorogued this Parliament to October next. I am glad they are up. The Bill for Accounts was not offered, the party being willing to let it fall; but the King did tell them he expected it. They are parted with great heart-burnings, one party against the other. Pray God bring them hereafter together in better temper! It is said that the King do intend himself in this interval to take away Lord Mordaunt's government, <sup>3</sup> so as to do something to appease the House against they come together, and let them see he will do that of his own accord which is fit, without their forcing him; and that he will have his Commission for Accounts go on: which will be good things. At dinner we talked much of Cromwell, all saying he was a brave fellow and did owe his crown he got to himself as much as any man that ever got one.

<sup>1</sup> 'Captain Seely, captain of the fireship that deserted the *Patrick*, was this day (7th March) shot to death on board his own vessel.'—Pointer, vol. i, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> The *St. Patrick*.

<sup>3</sup> Windsor Castle.

9th. To the office where busy, very busy, late, and then home and read a piece of a play, 'Every Man in his Humour,'<sup>1</sup> wherein is the greatest propriety of speech that ever I read in my life: and so to bed. This noon came my wife's watchmaker and received £12 of me for her watch; but Captain Rolt coming to speak with me about a little business, he did judge of the work to be very good, and so I am well contented.

10th. (Lord's day.) To church, where Mr. Mills made an unnecessary sermon upon Original Sin, neither understood by himself nor the people. Home, where came Mr. Carter,<sup>2</sup> my old acquaintance of Magdalene College, who hath not been here of many years. He hath spent his time in the North with the Bishop of Carlisle<sup>3</sup> much. He is grown a very comely person, and of good discourse, and one that I like very much. We had much talk of all our old acquaintance of the College concerning their various fortunes; wherein, to my joy, I met not with any that have sped better than myself. Mrs. Turner do tell me very odd stories how Mrs. Williams do receive the applications of people, and hath presents, and she is the hand that receives all, while my Lord Brouncker do the business.

11th. With Creed to Westminster Hall, and there up and down, and hear that Prince Rupert is still better and better, and that he did tell Dr. Troutbeck expressly that my Lord Sandwich is ordered home. I hear, too, that Prince Rupert hath begged the having of all the stolen prize-goods which he can find, and that he is looking out anew after them, which at first troubled me; but I do see it cannot come to anything, but is done by Hayes, or some of his little people about him. Here, among other news, I bought the King's speech at proroguing the House the other day, wherein are some words which cannot but import some prospect of a peace, which God send us!

12th. With my Lord Brouncker by coach to his house, there to hear some Italian music: and here we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Robert Murray, and the Italian Signor Baptista,<sup>4</sup> who hath composed a play in Italian for the Opera, which T. Killigrew do intend to have up; and here he did sing one of the acts. He himself is the poet as well as the musician; which is very much, and did sing the

<sup>1</sup> Ben Jonson's well-known play.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Carter, S.T.P., 1669.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Rainbow.

<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Battista Draghi, an Italian musician in the service of Queen Catherine, and a composer of merit.

whole from the words without any music pricked, and played all along upon a harpsicon most admirably, and the composition most excellent. The words I did not understand, and so know not how they are fitted, but believe very well, and all in the recitativo very fine. But I perceive there is a proper accent in every country's discourse, and that do reach in their setting of notes to words, which, therefore, cannot be natural to anybody else but them; so that I am not so much smitten with it as, it may be, I should be, if I were acquainted with their accent. But the whole composition is certainly most excellent; and the poetry, T. Killigrew and Sir R. Murray, who understood the words, did say was excellent. I confess I was mightily pleased with the music. He pretends not to voice, though it be good, but not excellent. This done, T. Killigrew and I to talk: and he tells me how the audience at his house is not above half so much as it used to be before the late fire. That Knipp is like to make the best actor that ever came upon the stage, she understanding so well that they are going to give her £30 a year more. That the stage is now by his pains a thousand times better and more glorious than ever heretofore. Now, wax candles, and many of them; then, not above 3 lbs. of tallow: now, all things civil, no rudeness anywhere; then, as in a bear-garden: then, two or three fiddlers; now, nine or ten of the best: then, nothing but rushes upon the ground, and everything else mean; now, all otherwise: then, the Queen seldom and the King never would come; now, not the King only for state, but all civil people do think they may come as well as any. He tells me that he hath gone several times, eight or ten times, he tells me, hence to Rome, to hear good music; so much he loves it, though he never did sing or play a note. That he hath endeavoured in the late King's time, and in this, to introduce good music, but he never could do it, there never having been any music here better than ballads. Nay, says 'Hermit poor' and 'Chevy Chase' was all the music we had; and yet no ordinary fiddlers get so much money as ours do here, which speaks our rudeness still. That he hath gathered our Italians from several Courts in Christendom, to come to make a concert for the King, which he do give £200 a year apiece to: but badly paid, and do come in the room of keeping four ridiculous gundilows,<sup>1</sup> he having got the King to put them away, and lay out money this way; and indeed I do commend him for it, for I think it is a very noble undertaking. He do intend to have

<sup>1</sup> The gondolas mentioned before, as sent by the Doge of Venice.

some times of the year these operas to be performed at the two present theatres, since he is defeated in what he intended in Moorfields on purpose for it; and he tells me plainly that the City audience was as good as the Court, but now they are most gone. Baptista tells me that Giacomo Carissimi is still alive at Rome, who was master to Vincentio, who is one of the Italians that the King hath here, and the chief composer of them. My great wonder is, how this man do to keep in memory so perfectly the music of the whole act, both for the voice and the instrument too. I confess I do admire it: but in recitativo the sense much helps him, for there is but one proper way of discoursing and giving the accents. Having done our discourse, we all took coaches, my Lord's and T. Killigrew's, and to Mrs. Knipp's chamber, where this Italian is to teach her to sing her part. And so we all thither, and there she did sing an Italian song or two very fine, while he played the bass upon a harpsicon there; and exceedingly taken I am with her singing, and believe that she will do miracles at that and acting. Her little girl is mighty pretty and witty.

13th. To the Duke of York, and there did our usual business; but troubled to see that, at this time, after our declaring a debt to the Parliament of £900,000, and nothing paid since; but the debt increased, and now the fleet to set out, to hear that the King hath ordered but £35,000 for the setting out of the fleet, out of the Poll Bill, to buy all provisions, when five times as much had been little enough to have done anything to purpose. They have, indeed, ordered more for paying off of seamen and the Yards for some time, but not enough for that neither. The Prince, I hear, is every day better and better. To Dr. Clerke's, by invitation. Here was his wife painted, and her sister Worshipp, a widow now, and mighty pretty in her mourning. Here was also Mr. Pierce and Mr. Floyd, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Prizes, and Captain Cooke to dinner, an ill and little mean one, with foul cloth and dishes, and everything poor. Discoursed most about plays and the Opera, where, among other vanities, Captain Cooke had the arrogance to say that he was fain to direct Sir W. Davenant in the breaking of his verses into such and such lengths, according as would be fit for music, and how he used to swear at Davenant, and command him that way, when W. Davenant would be angry, and find fault with this or that note—a vain coxcomb he is, though he sings and composes so well. Dr. Clerke did say that Sir W. Davenant is no good judge of a dramatic poem, finding fault with

his choice of 'Henry the 5th,' and others, for the stage, when I do think, and he confesses, 'The Siege of Rhodes,' as good as ever was writ. Cooke gone, Dr. Clerke fell to reading a new play, newly writ, of a friend's of his; but, by his discourse and confession afterwards, it was his own. Some things, but very few, moderately good, but infinitely far from the conceit, wit, design, and language of very many plays that I know; so that, but for compliment, I was quite tired with hearing it. There was a very great disorder this day at the Ticket Office, to the beating and bruising of the face of Carcasse very much. A foul evening this was tonight, and I mightily troubled to get a coach home; and, which is now my common practice, going over the ruins in the night, I rid with my sword drawn in the coach.

14th. To the office, where Carcasse comes with his plastered face, and called himself Sir W. Batten's martyr, which made W. Batten mad almost, and mighty quarrelling there was. By coach to my Lord Chancellor's, and there a meeting: the Duke of York, Duke of Albemarle, and several other Lords of the Commission of Tangier. And there I did present a state of my accounts, and managed them well; and my Lord Chancellor did say, though he was, in other things, in an ill humour, that no man in England was of more method, nor made himself better understood, than myself. But going, after the business of money was over, to other businesses, of settling the garrison, he did fling out, and so did the Duke of York, two or three severe words touching my Lord Bellassis: that he would have no Governor come away from thence in less than three years; no, though his lady were with child. 'And,' says the Duke of York, 'there should be no Governor continue so, longer than three years.'—'And,' says Lord Arlington, 'when our rules are once set, and upon good judgment declared, no Governor should offer to alter them.' 'We must correct the many things that are amiss there; for,' says the Lord Chancellor, 'you must think we do hear of more things amiss than we are willing to speak before our friends' faces.' My Lord Bellassis would not take notice of their reflecting on him, and did wisely. H. Cholmley and I to the Temple, and there walked in the dark in the walks talking of news; and he surprises me with the certain news that the King did last night in Council declare his being in treaty with the Dutch; that they had sent him a very civil letter, declaring that, if nobody but themselves were concerned, they would not dispute the place of treaty, but leave it to his choice;



but that, being obliged to satisfy therein a Prince of equal quality with himself, they must except any place in England or Spain. Also the King hath chosen the Hague, and thither hath chosen my Lord Hollis and Harry Coventry<sup>1</sup> to go Ambassadors to treat; which is so mean a thing as all the world will believe, that we do go to beg a peace of them, whatever we pretend. And it seems all our Court are mightily for a peace, taking this to be the time to make one while the King hath money, that he may save something of what the Parliament hath given him to put him out of debt, so as he may need the help of no more Parliaments, as to the point of money: but our debt is so great, and expense daily so increased, that I believe little of the money will be saved between this and the making of the peace up. But that which troubles me most is that we have chosen a son of Secretary Morris,<sup>2</sup> a boy never used to any business, to go Secretary to the Embassy. This morning came up to my wife's bedside, I being up dressing myself, little Will Mercer to be her Valentine; and brought her name writ upon blue paper in gold letters, done by himself, very pretty; and we were both well pleased with it. But I am also this year my wife's Valentine, and it will cost me £5; but that I must have laid out if we had not been Valentines.

15th. Pegg Pen is married<sup>3</sup> this day privately: no friends, but two or three relations of his and hers. Borrowed many things of my kitchen for dressing their dinner. This wedding, being private, is imputed to its being just before Lent, and so in vain to make new clothes till Easter, that they might see the fashions as they are like to be this summer; which is reason good enough. Mrs. Turner tells me she hears Sir W. Pen gives £4,500, or £4,000, with her.

16th. To my Lord Brouncker's, and there was Sir Robert Murray, a most excellent man of reason and learning, and understands the doctrine of music, and everything else I could discourse of, very finely. Here came Mr. Hooke, Sir George Ent, Dr. Wren, and many others; and by and by the music, that is to say, Signior

<sup>1</sup> Henry, third son of Thomas, first Lord Coventry; after the Restoration made a Groom of the Bedchamber, and elected M.P. for Droitwich. In 1664 he was sent envoy extraordinary to Sweden, where he remained two years, and was again employed on an embassy to the same court in 1671. He also succeeded in negotiating the peace of Breda here alluded to, and in 1672 became Secretary of State, which office he resigned in 1679, on account of ill health. He died unmarried, 7th December 1686.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Morris. He had several sons.

<sup>3</sup> To Anthony Lowther.

Vincentio, who is the master-composer, and six more, whereof two eunuchs, so tall, that Sir T. Harvey said well that he believes they do grow large as our oxen do, and one woman very well dressed and handsome enough, but would not be kissed, as Mr. Killigrew, who brought the company in, did acquaint us. They sent two harpsicons before; and by and by, after tuning them, they began; and, I confess, very good music they made, that is, the composition exceeding good, but yet not at all more pleasing to me than what I have heard in English by Mrs. Knipp, Captain Cooke, and others. Their justness in keeping time by practice much before any that we have, unless it be a good band of practised fiddlers. I find Mrs. Pierce's little girl is my Valentine, she having drawn me: which I was not sorry for, it easing me of something more that I must have given to others. But here I do first observe the fashion of drawing of mottos as well as names; so that Pierce, who drew my wife, did draw also a motto, and this girl drew another for me. What mine was I have forgot, but my wife's was 'Most courteous and most fair'; which, as it may be used, or an anagram made upon each name, might be very pretty. One wonder I observed today, that there was no music in the morning to call up our new-married people; which is very mean, methinks.

17th. (Lord's day.) To my Lord Chancellor's, where I met with, and had much pretty discourse with, one of the Pogerses that knew me; and it was pretty to hear him tell me of his own accord, as a matter of no shame, that in Spain he had a pretty woman, his mistress, whom, when money grew scarce with him, he was forced to leave, and afterwards heard how she and her husband lived well, she being kept by an old friar; but this, says he, is better than as our ministers do, who have wives that lay up their estates, and do no good nor relieve any poor—no, not our greatest prelates. Stayed till the Council was up, and attended the King and Duke of York round the Park, and was asked several questions by both: but I was in pain lest they should ask me what I could not answer, as the Duke of York did the value of the hull of the St. Patrick lately lost, which I told him I could not presently answer; though I might have easily furnished myself to answer all those questions. They stood a good while to see the ganders and geese in the water. At home, by appointment, comes Captain Cocke to me, to talk of State matters and about the peace; who told me that the whole business is managed between Kevet, Burgo-

master, of Amsterdam, and my Lord Arlington, who hath, through his wife there, some interest. We have proposed the Hague, but know not yet whether the Dutch will like it, or, if they do, whether the French will. We think we shall have the help of the information of their affairs and state, and the helps of the Prince of Orange his faction: but, above all, that De Witt, who hath all this while said he cannot get peace, his mouth will now be stopped, so that he will be forced to offer fit terms, for fear of the people; and, lastly, if France or Spain do not please us, we are in a way presently to clap up a peace with the Dutch, and secure them. But we are also in treaty with France, as he says: but it must be to the excluding our alliance with the King of Spain or House of Austria: which we do not know presently what will be determined in. He tells me the Vice-Chamberlain is so great with the King that, let the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry and this Office do or say what they will, while the King lives Sir G. Carteret will do what he will; and advises me to be often with him, and eat and drink with him; and tells me that he doubts he is jealous of me, and was mighty mad today at our discourse to him before the Duke of York. But I did give him my reasons that the Office is concerned to declare that, without money, the King's work cannot go on. He assures me that Henry Brouncker is one of the shrewdest fellows for parts in England, and a dangerous man; that, while we want money so much in the Navy, the Officers of the Ordnance have at this day £300,000 good in tallies, which they can command money upon; that Harry Coventry, who is to go upon this treaty with Lord Hollis, who he confesses to be a very wise man, into Holland, is a mighty quick, ready man, but not so weighty as he should be, he knowing him so well in his drink as he do: that, unless the King do something against my Lord Mordaunt and the Patents for the Canary Company before the Parliament next meets, he do believe there will be a civil war before there will be any more money given, unless it may be at their perfect disposal; and that all things are now ordered to the provoking of the Parliament against they come next, and the spending the King's money, so as to put him into a necessity of having it at the time it is prorogued for, or sooner. This evening, going to the Queen's side<sup>1</sup> to see the ladies, I did find the Queen, the Duchess of York, and another or two, at cards, with the room full of great ladies and men; which I was amazed at to see on a Sunday, having not believed it; but,

<sup>1</sup> Her Majesty's apartments at White Hall Palace.

contrarily, flatly denied the same a little while since to my cousin Roger Pepys. Going by water, read the answer to the 'Apology for Papists,' which did like me mightily.

18th. To the King's House, to 'The Maid's Tragedy'; but vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley; yet pleased to hear their discourse, he being a stranger. And one of the ladies would, and did sit with her mask on, all the play, and, being exceeding witty as ever I heard woman, did talk most pleasantly with him; but was, I believe, a virtuous woman, and of quality. He would fain know who she was, but she would not tell; yet did give him many pleasant hints of her knowledge of him, by that means setting his brains at work to find out who she was, and did give him leave to use all means to find out who she was, but pulling off her mask. He was mighty witty, and she also making sport with him very inoffensively, that a more pleasant rencontre I never heard. But by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty.

19th. To the office where all the morning. At noon home, and there find old Mr. Michell and Howlett come to desire mine and my wife's company to dinner to their son's, and so away by coach with them, it being Betty's wedding day a year, as also Shrove Tuesday. Here I made myself mighty merry, and a mighty pretty dinner we had in this little house, to my exceeding great content and my wife's, and my heart pleased to see Betty. After dinner I fell to read the Acts about the building of the City again; and indeed the laws seem to be very good, and I pray God I may live to see it built in that manner! This morning I hear that our discourse of peace is all in the dirt; for the Dutch will not like of the peace, or at least the French will not agree to it: so that I do wonder what we shall do, for carry on the war we cannot.

20th. To White Hall, by the way observing Sir W. Pen's carrying a favour to Sir W. Coventry, for his daughter's wedding, and saying that there was others for us, when we will fetch them; which vexed me, and I am resolved not to wear it when he orders me one. His wedding hath been so poorly kept, that I am ashamed of it, for a fellow that makes such a flutter as he do. When we came to the Duke of York here, I heard discourse how Harris of his playhouse is sick, and everybody commends him, and, above all things, for acting the Cardinal. They talked how the King's violin, Banister,<sup>1</sup> is mad that the King hath a Frenchman<sup>2</sup> come

to be chief of some part of the King's music, at which the Duke of York made great mirth. Then withdrew to his closet, where all our business, lack of money and prospect of the effects of it, such as made Sir W. Coventry say publicly before us all that he do heartily wish that his Royal Highness had nothing to do in the Navy, whatever become of him; and much dishonour, he says, is likely to fall under the management of it. The Duke of York was angry, as much he could be, or ever I saw him, with Sir G. Carteret, for not paying the masters of some ships on Monday last, according to his promise. With the 'Chequer men to the Leg, in King Street, and there had wine for them; and there was one in company with them, that was the man that got the vessel to carry over the King from Bredhemson,<sup>3</sup> who hath a pension of £200 per annum,<sup>4</sup> but ill paid, and the man is looking after getting of a prize-ship to live by. But the trouble is that this poor man, who hath received no part of his money these four years, and is ready to starve almost, must yet pay to the Poll Bill for this pension. He told me several particulars of the King's coming thither, which was mighty pleasant, and shows how mean a thing a king is, how subject to fall, and how like other men he is in his afflictions. I with Lord Bellassis to the Lord Chancellor's. Lord Bellassis tells me how the King of France hath caused the stop to be made to our proposition of treating in the Hague; that he being greater than they, we may better come and treat at Paris: so that God knows what will become of the peace! He tells me, too, as a grand secret, that he do believe the peace offensive and defensive between Spain and us is quite finished, but must not be known, to prevent the King of France's present falling upon Flanders. He do believe the Duke of York will be made General of the Spanish armies there, and Governor of Flanders, if the French should come against

<sup>1</sup> John Banister, who had been bred up, under his father, one of the Waits in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, was sent by Charles II to France, for improvement; but, soon after his return, was dismissed the king's service, for saying that the English violins were better than the French. He afterwards kept a music school in Whitefriars, and died in 1679 (*Hawkins's History of Music*).

<sup>2</sup> Louis Grabu.

<sup>3</sup> Brighthelmstone.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Tetttersell, the master of a coal-brig, on board of which Charles II embarked, and was safely landed at Fécamp, in Normandy. The captain, after the Restoration, brought the vessel up the Thames, and moored her opposite Whitehall, and procured an annuity of £100 by this expedient. He lies buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Brighton, where an inscription to his memory may still be seen.

it, and we assist the Spaniard; that we have done the Spaniard abundance of mischief in the West Indies, by our privateers at Jamaica, which they lament mightily, and I am sorry for it to have it done at this time. By and by come to my Lord Chancellor, who heard mighty quietly my complaints for lack of money, and spoke mighty kind to me, but little hopes of help therein.

21st. To the office, where sat all the morning, and there a most furious conflict between Sir W. Pen and I, in few words, and on a sudden occasion of no great moment, but very bitter and smart on one another, and so broke off, and to our business, my heart as full of spite as it could hold, for which God forgive me and him! At the end come witnesses on behalf of Mr. Carcasse; but, instead of clearing him, I find they were brought to recriminate Sir W. Batten, and did it by oath very highly, that made the old man mad, and, I confess, me ashamed, so that I caused all but ourselves to withdraw, being sorry to have such things declared in the open office, before 100 people. But it was done home, and I believe true, though W. Batten denies all, but is cruel mad, and swore one of them, he or Carcasse, should not continue in the Office, which is said like a fool.

22d. All of us, that is to say, Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Batten, T. Harvey, and myself, to Sir W. Pen's house, where some other company. It is instead of a wedding dinner for his daughter, whom I saw in palterly clothes, nothing new but a bracelet that her servant<sup>1</sup> had given her, and ugly she is, as heart can wish. A sorry dinner, not anything handsome or clean, but some silver plates they borrowed of me. My wife was here too. We had favours given us all, and we put them in our hats, I against my will, but that my Lord and the rest did. To bed, talking with my wife of the poorness and meanness of all that Sir W. Pen and the people about us do, compared with what we do.

23d. This day I am, by the blessing of God, 34 years old, in very good health and mind's content, and in condition of estate much beyond whatever my parents could expect of a child of theirs, this day 34 years. The Lord's name be praised! and may I be thankful for it.

24th. (Lord's day.) My Lady Pen did, going out of church, ask me whether we did not make a great show at Court today, with all our favours in our hats. To White Hall, and there meeting my Lord Arlington, he, by I know not what kindness, offered to

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Lowther, before the marriage.

carry me along with him to my Lord Treasurer's, whither, I told him, I was going. I believe he had a mind to discourse of some Navy businesses, but Sir Thomas Clifford coming into the coach to us, we were prevented; which I was sorry for, for I had a mind to begin an acquaintance with him. He speaks well, and hath pretty slight superficial parts, I believe. He, in our going, talked much of the plain habit of the Spaniards: how the King and Lords themselves wear but a cloak of Colchester baize, and the ladies mantles, in cold weather, of white flannel; and that the endeavours frequently of setting up the manufactory of making these stuffs there have only been prevented by the Inquisition, the English and Dutchmen that have been sent for to work being taken with a Psalm-book or Testament, and so clapped up, and the house pulled down by the Inquisitors; and the greatest Lord in Spain dare not say a word against it, if the word Inquisition be but mentioned. Captain Cocke did tell me what I must not forget: that the answer of the Dutch refusing the Hague for a place of treaty, and proposing Boyse,<sup>1</sup> Breda, Bergen op Zoom, or Maastricht, was seemingly stopped by the Swede's Ambassador (though he did show it to the King, but the King would take no notice of it, nor does not) from being delivered to the King; and he hath wrote to desire them to consider better of it: so that, though we know their refusal of the place, yet they know not that we know it, nor is the King obliged to show his sense of the affront. That the Dutch are in very great straits, so as to be said to be not able to set out their fleet this year. By and by comes Sir Robert Viner and my Lord Mayor, to ask the King's direction about measuring out the streets according to the New Act<sup>2</sup> for building of the City, wherein the King is to be pleased.<sup>3</sup> But he says that the way proposed in Parliament, by Colonel Birch, would have been the best, to have chosen some persons in trust, and sold the whole ground, and let it be sold again by them, with preference to the old owner, which would have certainly caused the City to be built where these Trustees pleased; whereas now, great differences will be, and the streets built by fits, and not entire till all differences be decided. This, as he tells it, I think would have been the best way. I

<sup>1</sup> Bois-le-Duc.

<sup>2</sup> Entitled An Act for Rebuilding the City of London, 19th Car. II, cap. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir Christopher Wren's proposals for rebuilding the City of London after the great fire, with an engraved plan of the principal streets and public buildings, in *Elmes's Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren*, appendix, p. 61. The originals are in All Souls College Library, Oxford.

enquired about the Frenchman that was said to fire the City, and was hanged for it, by his own confession that he was hired for it by a Frenchman of Roanne, and that he did with a stick reach in a fire-ball in at a window of the house: whereas the master of the house, who is the King's baker, and his son, and daughter, do all swear there was no such window, and that the fire did not begin thereabouts. Yet the fellow, who, though a mopish besotted fellow, did not speak like a madman, did swear that he did fire it and did not this like a madman; for, being tried on purpose, and landed with his keeper at the Tower Wharf, he could carry the keeper to the very house. Asking Sir R. Viner what he thought was the cause of the fire, he tells me that the baker, son, and his daughter did all swear again and again that their oven was drawn by ten o'clock at night; that, having occasion to light a candle about twelve, there was not so much fire in the bakehouse as to light a match for a candle, so that they were fain to go into another place to light it; that about two in the morning they felt themselves almost choked with smoke, and rising, did find the fire coming upstairs; so they rose to save themselves; but that, at that time, the havins<sup>1</sup> were not on fire in the yard. So that they are, as they swear, in absolute ignorance how this fire should come; which is a strange thing, that so horrid an effect should have so mean and uncertain a beginning. By and by called in to the King and Cabinet, and there had a few insipid words about money for Tangier, but to no purpose. Going through bridge by water, my waterman told me how the mistress of the Bear tavern, at the bridge-foot, did lately fling herself into the Thames, and drowned herself; which did trouble me the more, when they tell me it was she that did live at the White Horse tavern in Lombard Street, which was a most beautiful woman, as most I have seen. It seems she hath had long melancholy upon her, and hath endeavoured to make away with herself often.

25th. Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch! in our little room at my Lord Sandwich's; for which I ought for ever to love and admire her, and do; and persuade myself she would do the same thing again, if God should reduce us to it. At my goldsmith's did observe the King's new medal, where, in little, there is Mrs. Stuart's face as well done as ever I saw anything in my whole life, I think: and

<sup>1</sup> Faggots.



a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by.

27th. Up by candle-light, about six o'clock, and by water down to Woolwich, I being at leisure this day, the King and Duke of York being gone down to Sheerness to lay out the design for a fortification there to the river Medway; and so we do not attend the Duke of York as we should otherwise have done. To the Dockyard, and went into Mr. Pett's; and there, beyond expectation, he did present me with a Japan cane with a silver head, and his wife sent me by him a ring with a Woolwich stone,<sup>1</sup> now much in request; which I accepted, the values not being great: and then, at my asking, did give me an old draught of an ancient-built ship, given him by his father, of the Bear, in Queen Elizabeth's time. Mr. Hunt, newly come out of the country, tells me the country<sup>2</sup> is much impoverished by the greatness of taxes: the farmers do break every day almost, and £1,000 a year become not worth £500. He told me some ridiculous pieces of thrift of Sir G. Downing's, who is his countryman, in inviting some poor people at Christmas last, to charm the country people's mouths; but did give them nothing but beef, porridge, pudding, and pork, and nothing said all dinner, but only his mother<sup>3</sup> would say, 'It's good broth, son.' He would answer, 'Yes, it is good broth.' Then, says his lady, 'Confirm all, and say, Yes, very good broth.' By and by she would begin and say, 'Good pork': 'Yes,' says the mother, 'good pork.' Then he cries, 'Yes, very good pork.' And so they said of all things; to which nobody made any answer, they going there not out of love or esteem of them, but to eat his victuals, knowing him to be a niggardly fellow; and with this he is jeered now all over the country. Comes Captain Story, of Cambridge, to me, about a bill for press-money; but, Lord! to see the natures of men: how this man, hearing my name, did ask me of my country, and told me of my cousin Roger, that he was not so wise a man as his father, for that he do not agree in Parliament with his fellow burgesses and knights of the shire, whereas I know very

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<sup>2</sup> Cambridgeshire.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Downing's mother was Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Robert Brett, M.D. His wife, Lady Downing, was Frances, fourth daughter of William Howard, of Naworth, and sister of Charles Howard, the first earl of that family.

well the reason; for he is not so high a flyer as Mr. Chicheley and others, but loves the King better than any of them, and to better purpose. But yet, he says that he is a very honest gentleman, and thence runs into a hundred stories of his own services to the King, and how he at this day brings in the taxes before anybody here thinks they are collected: discourse very absurd to entertain a stranger with. Met Mr. Cooling, who tells me of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's being sent for last night, by a Serjeant at Arms,<sup>1</sup> to the Tower, for treasonable practices, and that the King is infinitely angry with him, and declared him no longer one of his Council. I know not the reason of it, or occasion. Took up my wife to the Exchange, and there bought things for Mr. Pierce's little daughter, my Valentine, and so to her house, where we find Knipp, who also challenged me for her Valentine. She looks well, sang well, and very merry we were for half an hour. Tells me Harris is well again, having been very ill. To Sir W. Pen's, and sat with my Lady and the young couple<sup>2</sup> (Sir William out of town), talking merrily; but they make a very sorry couple, methinks, though rich.

28th. Up, and there comes to me Drumbleby with a flageolet and brings me one Greeting, a master, to teach my wife. I agree by the whole he is to teach her to take out any lesson of herself for £4. Mr. Hollyard dined with us, and pleasant company he is. I love his company, and he secures me against ever having the stone again. He gives it me, as his opinion, that the City will never be built again together, as is expected, while any restraint is laid upon them. He hath been a great loser, and would be a builder again, but, he says, he knows not what restricting there will be, so as it is unsafe for him to begin. Upon the evening my accounts I do appear £6,800 creditor. I did within these six days see smoke still remaining of the late fire in the City; and it is strange to think how, to this very day, I cannot sleep at night without great terrors of fire. Mr. Gauden tells me more than I knew before—that he hath orders to get all the victuals he can to Plymouth and the Western ports, and other out-ports, and some to Scotland, so that we do intend to keep but a flying fleet this year; which, it may be, may preserve us a year longer, but the end of it must be ruin. Sir J. Minnes this night tells me that he hears for certain that ballads are made of us in Holland for begging of a peace; which I expected, but am vexed at. So ends this month, with nothing of

<sup>1</sup> Bearcroft.<sup>2</sup> Anthony Lowther and his wife Margaret Penn.

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Poland, but is denied, and thereupon that he is gone into the country. How true this is I dare not believe till I hear more. I walked into the Park, it being a fine but very cold day, and there took two or three turns the length of the Pall Mall; and there I met Serjeant Bearcroft, who was sent for the Duke of Buckingham, to have brought him prisoner to the Tower. He came to town this day, and brings word that, being overtaken and outrid by the Duchess of Buckingham within a few miles of Westhorpe,<sup>1</sup> he believes she got thither about a quarter of an hour before him, and so had time to consider; so that, when he came, the doors were kept shut against him. The next day, coming with officers of the neighbour market-town to force open the doors, they were open for him, but the Duke gone. So he took horse presently, and heard upon the road that the Duke of Buckingham was gone before him for London: so that he believes he is this day also come to town before him, but no news is yet heard of him. This is all he brings. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there, meeting Sir H. Cholmley, he and I walked in my Lord's garden, and talked; and, among other things, of the treaty: and he says there will certainly be a peace, but I cannot believe it. He tells me that the Duke of Buckingham his crimes, as far as he knows, are his being of a cabal with some discontented persons of the late House of Commons, and opposing the desires of the King in all his matters in that House; and endeavouring to become popular, and advising how the Commons' House should proceed, and how he would order the House of Lords. And that he hath been endeavouring to have the King's nativity calculated; which was done, and the fellow now in the Tower about it: which itself hath heretofore, as he says, been held treason, and people died for it; but by the Statute of Treason, in Queen Mary's times and since, it hath been left out. He tells me that this silly Lord hath provoked, by his ill carriage, the Duke of York, my Lord Chancellor, and all the great persons; and therefore, most likely, will die. He tells me, too, many practices of treachery against this King, as betraying him in Scotland, and giving Oliver an account of the King's private councils; which the King knows very well, and yet hath pardoned him.

4th. Meeting with my old acquaintance Mr. Chaplin, the cheesemonger, he tells me that he hears that the Dutch do stand upon

<sup>1</sup> Westhorpe, in Suffolk, originally the magnificent residence of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk: it was probably afterwards granted by the Crown to the Duke of Buckingham. The house has long since been demolished.

a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by.

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home, wondrous cold, and reading a ridiculous ballad, made in praise of the Duke of Albemarle, to the tune of St. George, the tune being printed, too; and I observe that people have great encouragement to make ballads of him of this kind. There are so many, that hereafter he will sound like Guy of Warwick. To Sir H. Cholmley's, a pretty house, and a fine, worthy, well disposed gentleman he is. He tells me, among other things, that he hears of little hopes of a peace, their demands being so high as we shall never grant, and could tell me that we shall keep no fleet abroad this year, but only squadrons. So to the 'Change, and there bought 32s. worth of things for Mrs. Knipp, my Valentine, which is pretty to see how my wife is come to convention with me, that, whatever I do give to anybody else, I shall give her as much.

7th. Hearing that Knipp is at my house, I home, and it is about a ticket for a friend of hers. I do love the humour of the jade very well. To Devonshire House,<sup>1</sup> to a burial of a kinsman of Sir R. Viner's; and there I received a ring. To the Duke's playhouse, and saw 'The English Princess, or Richard the Third';<sup>2</sup> a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedies are; only little Miss Davis<sup>3</sup> did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it came in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; and, the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's House in boy's clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other. This day Commissioner Taylor came to me for advice, and would force me to take ten pieces in gold of him, which I had no mind to, he being become one of our number at the Board. This day was reckoned by all people the coldest day that ever was remembered in England; and, God knows! coals at a very great price.

8th. To Westminster Hall, where I saw Mr. Martin, the purser, come through with a picture in his hand, which he had bought, and

<sup>1</sup> Devonshire House was in Bishopsgate Street.

<sup>2</sup> A tragedy by J. Caryl.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Davis, sometime a comedian in the Duke of York's troop, and one of those actresses who boarded with Sir W. Davenant, was, according to Pepys, a natural daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire. She captivated the king by the charming manner in which she sung a ballad, beginning, 'My lodging is on the cold ground,' when acting Celania, a shepherdess mad for love, in the play of *The Rivals*. Charles took her off the stage, and she had by him a daughter named Mary Tudor, married to Francis, second Earl of Derwentwater; and their son James, the third earl, was attainted and beheaded for high treason.

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of having opportunity of spies, by reason of our interest in the House of Orange; and then, it being a town in one particular province, it would not be fit to have it, but in a town wherein the provinces have equal interest, as at Maastricht and other places named. That he advises them to offer no terms, nor accept of any, without his privity and consent, according to agreement; and tells them, if not so, he hath in his power to be even with them, the King of England being come to offer any terms he pleases: and that my Lord St. Albans is now at Paris, Plenipotentiary, to make what peace he pleases; and so he can make it, and exclude them, the Dutch, if he sees fit. A copy of this letter of the King of France's the Spanish Ambassador here gets, and comes and tells all to our King; which our King denies, and says the King of France only uses his power of saying anything. At the same time the King of France writes to the Emperor, that he is resolved to do all things to express affection to the Emperor, having it now in his power to make what peace he pleases between the King of England and him, and the states of the United Provinces; and, therefore, that he would not have him to concern himself in a friendship with us; and assures him that, on that regard, he will not offer anything to his disturbance, in his interest in Flanders or elsewhere. He writes, at the same time, to Spain, to tell him that he wonders to hear of a league almost ended between the Crown of Spain and England, by my Lord Sandwich, and all without his privity, while he was making a peace upon what terms he pleased with England: that he is a great lover of the Crown of Spain, and would take the King and his affairs, during his minority, into his protection, nor would offer to set his foot in Flanders or anywhere else, to disturb him; and, therefore, would not have him to trouble himself to make peace with anybody; only he hath a desire to offer an exchange, which he thinks may be of moment to both sides; that is, that he [France] will instate the King of Spain in the kingdom of Portugal, and he and the Dutch will put him into possession of Lisbon; and, that being done, he [France] may have Flanders. And this, they say, do mightily take in Spain, which is sensible of the fruitless expense Flanders, so far off, gives them; and how much better it would be for them to be master of Portugal; and the King of France offers, for security herein, that the King of England shall be bond for him, and that he will counter-secure the King of England with Amsterdam; and, it seems, hath assured our King. that, if he will make a league with him, he will make a peace



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myself; where we find only the King and Duke of York, and my Lord Treasurer and Sir G. Carteret; when I only did speak, laying down the state of our wants, which the King and Duke of York seemed very well pleased with, and we did get what we asked, £500,000, assigned upon the eleven months' tax: but that is not so much ready money, or what will raise £40,000 per week, which we desired, and the business will want. The King did prevent my offering anything by and by as Treasurer for Tangier, telling me that he had ordered us £30,000 on the same tax; but that is not what we would have to bring our payments to come within a year. So, we gone out, in went others: viz., one after another, Sir Stephen Fox for the Army, Captain Cocke for sick and wounded, Mr. Ashburnham<sup>1</sup> for the household. Thence Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and I back again; I mightily pleased with what I had said and done, and the success thereof.

15th. Letters this day come to Court do tell us that we are not likely to agree, the Dutch demanding high terms, and the King of France the like, in a most braving manner. This morning I was called up by Sir John Winter, poor man! come in a sedan from the other end of the town, about helping the King in the business of bringing down his timber to the sea-side, in the forest of Dean.

16th. The weather is now grown warm again, after much cold; and it is observable that within these eight days I did see smoke remaining, coming out of some cellars from the late great fire, now above six months since.

17th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall Chapel. There I put my wife in the pew below, but it was pretty to see, myself being but in a plain band, and every way else ordinary, how the vergcr took me for her man, and I was fain to tell him she was a kinswoman of my Lord Sandwich's, he saying that none under knights-baronets' ladies are to go into that pew. I to the Duke of York's lodging, where in his dressing-chamber, he talking of his journey tomorrow or next day to Harwich, to prepare some fortifications there; so that we are wholly upon the defensive part this year. I to walk in the Park, where to the Queen's chapel, and there heard a friar preach with his cord about his middle, in Portuguese, something I could understand, showing that God did respect the meek and humble, as well as the high and rich. He was full of action, but very decent and good, I thought, and his manner of delivery very good. Then I went back to White Hall, and there up to the

<sup>1</sup> Wm. Ashburnham, the cofferer.

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my Lord Arlington Lord Treasurer. I only wish that the latter were as fit for the latter office as the former is for the former, and more fit than my Lord Arlington. Anon Sir W. Pen came and talked with me in the garden, and tells me that for certain the Duke of Richmond is to marry Mrs. Stuart, he having this day brought in an account of his estate and debts to the King on that account. My father's letter this day do tell me of his own continued illness, and that my mother grows so much worse, that he fears she cannot long continue, which troubles me very much. This day Mr. Cæsar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.

19th. It comes in my mind this night to set down how a house was the other day in Bishopsgate Street blowed up with powder, a house that was untenanted; but, thanks be to God, it did no more hurt, and all do conclude it a plot. This afternoon I am told again that the town do talk of my Lord Arlington's being to be Lord Treasurer, and Sir W. Coventry to be Secretary of State; and that for certain the match is concluded between the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stuart, which I am well enough pleased with: and it is pretty to consider how his quality will allay people's talk; whereas, had a meaner person married her, he would for certain have been reckoned a cuckold at first dash.

20th. To our church to the vestry, to be assessed by the late Poll Bill, where I am rated as an Esquire, and for my office, all will come to about £50. But not more than I expected, nor so much by a great deal as I ought to be, for all my offices. The Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stuart were betrothed last night. It is strange how Rycaut's <sup>1</sup> Discourse of Turkey, which before the fire I was asked but 8s. for, there being all but twenty-two or thereabouts burned, I did now offer 20s., and he demands 50s., and I think I shall give it him, though it be only as a monument of the fire. I met with a sad letter from my brother, who tells me my mother is declared by the doctors to be past recovery, and that my father is also very ill: so that I fear we shall see a sudden change there. God fit them and us for it! So to Sir W. Pen's, where my wife was, and supped with a little, but yet little, mirth; and a bad, nasty supper, which makes me not love the family—they do all things so meanly, to make a little bad show upon their backs.

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now being to fortify ourselves against their invading us. Vexed with our maid Lucy, our cook-maid, who is a good, drudging servant in everything else, and pleases us, but that she will be drunk, and hath been so last night and all this day, that she could not make clean the house. My fear is only fire.

24th. (Lord's day.) With Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes; and they did talk of my Lord Brouncker,<sup>1</sup> whose father, it seems, did give Mr. Ashburnham and the present Lord Bristol £1200 to be made an Irish lord, and swore the same day that he had not 12d. left to pay for his dinner: they made great mirth at this, my Lord Brouncker having lately given great matter of offence both to them and us all, that we are at present mightily displeased with him. By and by to the Duke of York, where we all met, and there was the King also; and all our discourse was about fortifying of the Medway and Harwich, which is to be entrenched quite round, and Portsmouth. And here they advised with Sir Godfrey Lloyd<sup>2</sup> and Sir Bernard de Gomme,<sup>3</sup> the two great engineers, and had the

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Brouncker had been Commissary-General of the Musters in the Scotch expedition in 1639, Vice-Chamberlain to Prince Charles, and one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber to Charles I. He was the son of Sir Henry Brouncker, president of Munster, by Anne, sister to Henry Lord Morley, and was created Viscount Brouncker, of Castle Lyons, in Ireland, and Baron Brouncker, of Newcastle, county Dublin, 12th September 1645. He died in November following, and was buried in the cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, leaving issue by his wife Winifred, daughter of Sir William Leigh, of Newenham, Warwickshire, two sons, William, before mentioned, and Henry, third and last Viscount Brouncker, who died in 1688, and was buried in Richmond Church, leaving no issue by his wife Rebecca, widow of the Honourable Thomas Jermyn, mother, by her first husband, of the Lords Jermyn and Dover. Henry Brouncker, who had been Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of York, had succeeded to the office of cofferer on the death of William Ashburnham in 1671. The Lords Brouncker were descended from Henry Brouncker, who in 1544 bought lands at Melksham and Erlestoke, in Wiltshire; and his arms, and those of his two wives, are described by Aubrey as being on the window of a house at Erlestoke.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Godfrey Lloyd had been a captain in Holland, and was knighted by Charles at Brussels in 1657.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Bernard de Gomme was born at Lille in 1620. When young he served in the campaigns of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and afterwards entered the service of Charles I, by whom he was knighted. Under Charles II and James II he filled the offices of Chief Engineer, Quartermaster-General, and Surveyor of the Ordnance. He died 23rd November 1685, and is buried in the Tower of London. He first fortified Sheerness, Liverpool, etc., and he strengthened Portsmouth. His plans of these places and others, and of some of Charles I's battles, are in the British Museum, where also is preserved a miniature portrait of him in oil.

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the other. The second of our three counsel was the best, and indeed did speak admirably, and is a very shrewd man. Nevertheless, as good as he did make our case, and the rest, yet when Wiseman came to argue, nay, and though he did begin so sillily that we laughed in scorn in our sleeves at him, he did so state the case, that the Judge<sup>1</sup> did not think fit to decide the cause tonight, but took to tomorrow, and did stagger us in our hopes, so as to make us despair of the success. I am mightily pleased with the Judge, who seems a very rational, learned, and uncorrupt man, though our success do shake me.

27th. I heard from Sir John Bankes, though I cannot fully conceive the reason of it, that it will be impossible to make the Exchequer ever a true bank to all intents, unless the Exchequer stood near the Exchange, where merchants might with ease, while they are going about their business, at all hours, and without trouble or loss of time, have their satisfaction, which they cannot have now without much trouble and loss of half a day, and no certainty of having the offices open. To the Castle tavern, by Exeter House; and there Sir Ellis Layton, whom I find a wonderful witty, ready man for sudden answers and little tales, and sayings very extraordinary witty. He did give me a full account, upon my demand, of this Judge of the Admiralty, Judge Jenkins; who, he says, is a man never practised in this Court, but taken merely for his merit and ability's sake from Trinity Hall, where he had always lived; only by accident the business of the want of a Judge being proposed to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, he did think of this man and sent for him up: and here he is, against the *gré* and content of the old Doctors, made Judge, but is a very excellent man both for judgment and temper, yet majesty enough, and by all men's report, not to be corrupted. After dinner to the Court, where Sir Ellis Layton did make a very silly motion in our behalf, but did neither hurt nor good. After him Walker and Wiseman; and then the Judge did pronounce his sentence; for some, a part of the goods and ship, and the freight of the whole, to be free, and returned and paid by us; and the remaining, which was the greater part, to be ours. The loss of so much troubles us; but we have got a pretty good part, thanks be to God! Received from my

<sup>1</sup> Sir Leoline Jenkins, principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and afterwards made Judge of the Admiralty and the Prerogative Court. He was subsequently employed on several embassies, and succeeded Henry Coventry as Secretary of State. *Ob.* 1685, aged sixty-two. His State Papers have been published.



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Among others, how she, in his absence in Holland, did pawn all the things that he had got in his service under Oliver, and run of her own accord, without her husband's leave, into Flanders, and that his purse, and 4s. a week which his father receives of the French church, is all the subsistence his father and mother have, and that about £20 a year maintains them;<sup>1</sup> which, if it please God, I will find one way or other to provide for them, to remove that scandal away.

30th. To see the silly play of my Lady Newcastle's,<sup>2</sup> called 'The Humorous Lovers': the most silly thing that ever came upon a stage. I was sick to see it, but yet would not but have seen it, that I might the better understand her. Here I spied Knipp and Betty,<sup>3</sup> of the King's House, and sent Knipp oranges, but, having little money about me, did not offer to carry them abroad.

31st. (Lord's day.) To church; and with my mourning, very handsome, and new periwig, make a great show. Walked to my Lord Treasurer's, where the King, Duke of York, and the Cabal; and much company without, and a fine day. Anon come out from the Cabal my Lord Hollis and Mr. H. Coventry, who, it is conceived, have received their instructions from the King this day, they being to begin their journey towards their treaty at Breda speedily, their passes being come. Here I saw the Lady Northumberland<sup>4</sup> and her daughter-in-law, my Lord Treasurer's daughter, my Lady Piercy,<sup>5</sup> a beautiful lady indeed. The month shuts up only with great desires of peace in all of us, and a belief that we shall have a peace, in most people, if it can be had on any terms, for there is a necessity of it; for we cannot go on with the war, and our masters are afraid to come to depend upon the good will of the Parliament any more, as I do hear.

April 1st. To White Hall, and there had the good fortune to walk with Sir W. Coventry into the garden, and there read our melancholy letter to the Duke of York, which he likes. And so to talk: and he flatly owns that we must have a peace, for we cannot

<sup>1</sup> This seems to prove that Mrs. Pepys's mother had married again.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lucas, of Colchester, and sister to John Lord Lucas, married William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, created a duke 1665.

<sup>3</sup> Betty Hall.

<sup>4</sup> Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk, wife of Algernon, tenth Earl of Northumberland.

<sup>5</sup> Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter and co-heir to the last Earl of Southampton, married to Joscelin Lord Percy.

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2d. Mr. Deane hath promised me a very fine draft of the *Rupert*, which I will make one of the beautifullest things that ever was seen of the kind, she being a ship that will deserve it. In the evening weary home, and there to sing; but vexed with the unreadiness of the girl's voice to learn the latter part of my song, though I confess it is very hard—half notes.

3d. To the Duke of York, where Sir G. Carteret did say that he had no funds to raise money on; and being asked by Sir W. Coventry whether the eleven months' tax was not a fund, he answered 'No, that the bankers would not lend money upon it.' Then Sir W. Coventry burst out and said he did supplicate His Royal Highness, and would do the same to the King, that he would remember who they were that did persuade the King from parting with the Chimney-money to the Parliament, and taking that in lieu which they would certainly have given, and which would have raised infallibly ready money (meaning the bankers and the farmers of the Chimney-money, whereof Sir G. Carteret, I think, is one), saying plainly that whoever did advise the King to that, did, as much as in them lay, cut the King's throat and did wholly betray him: to which the Duke of York did assent; and remembered that the King did say again and again at the time that he was assured, and did fully believe, the money would be raised presently upon a land-tax. This put us all into a stound; and Sir W. Coventry went on to declare that he was glad he was come to have so little concern in the Navy as he hath, for he cannot now give any good account of the Navy business; and that all his work now was to be able to provide such orders as would justify his Royal Highness in the business, when it shall be called to account; and that he do do, not concerning himself whether they are or can be performed, or no: and that when it comes to be examined, and falls on my Lord Treasurer, he cannot help it, whatever the issue of it shall be. One thing more Sir W. Coventry did say to the Duke of York, when I moved again, that of about £9,000 debt to Lanyon<sup>1</sup> at Plymouth, he might pay £3,700 worth of prize-goods that he bought lately at the candle, out of this debt due to him from the King; and the Duke of York and Sir G. Carteret and Lord Berkeley saying, all of them, that my Lord Ashley would not be got to yield it, who is Treasurer of the Prizes, Sir W. Coventry did plainly desire that it might be declared whether the proceeds of the prizes were to go to the helping on of the war, or no: and, if it were, how then this

<sup>1</sup> One of the contractors for victualling Tangier.

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of the King's ships, than of the enemy. And the Duke of Albemarle did confirm it, and that somebody in the fight did cry out that a little Dutchman, by his ship, did plague him more than any other; upon which they were going to order him to be sunk, when they looked and found it was Du Tell, who, as the Duke of Albemarle says, had killed several men in several of our ships. He said but for his interest, which he knew he had at Court, he had hanged him at the yard's-arm, without staying for a Court-martial. One Colonel Howard,<sup>1</sup> at the table, magnified the Duke of Albemarle's fight in June last, as being a greater action than ever was done by Cæsar. The Duke of Albemarle did say it had been no great action, had all his number fought, as they should have done, to have beat the Dutch; but of his 55 ships, not above 25 fought. He did give an account that it was a fight he was forced to: the Dutch being come in his way, and he being ordered to the buoy of the Nore, he could not pass by them without fighting, nor avoid them without great disadvantage and dishonour; and this Sir G. Carteret, I afterwards giving him an account of what he said, says is true, that he was ordered up to the Nore. But I remember he said, had all his captains fought, he would no more have doubted to have beat the Dutch, with all their number, than to eat the apple that lay on his trencher. My Lady Duchess, among other things, discoursed of the wisdom of dividing the fleet; which the General said nothing to, though knows well that it came from themselves in the fleet, and was brought up hither by Sir Edward Spragg. Colonel Howard asking how the Prince did, the Duke of Albemarle answering, 'Pretty well,' the other replied, 'But not so well as to go to sea again.'—'How!' says the Duchess, 'what should he go for, if he were well, for there are no ships for him to command? And so you have brought your hogs to a fair market,' said she. It was pretty to hear the Duke of Albemarle himself to wish that they would come on our ground, meaning the French, for that he would pay them, so as to make them glad to go back to France again; which was like a general, but not like an admiral. One at the table told an odd passage in this late plague: that at Petersfield, I think he said, one side of the street had every house almost infected through the town, and the other not one shut up. I brought Balty to the Duke of Albemarle to kiss his hands and thank him for his kindness the last year to him, and then Balty and I to the Park, and, out of pity to his father, told him what I had in

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a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by.

27th. Up by candle-light, about six o'clock, and by water down to Woolwich, I being at leisure this day, the King and Duke of York being gone down to Sheerness to lay out the design for a fortification there to the river Medway; and so we do not attend the Duke of York as we should otherwise have done. To the Dockyard, and went into Mr. Pett's; and there, beyond expectation, he did present me with a Japan cane with a silver head, and his wife sent me by him a ring with a Woolwich stone,<sup>1</sup> now much in request; which I accepted, the values not being great: and then, at my asking, did give me an old draught of an ancient-built ship, given him by his father, of the Bear, in Queen Elizabeth's time. Mr. Hunt, newly come out of the country, tells me the country<sup>2</sup> is much impoverished by the greatness of taxes: the farmers do break every day almost, and £1,000 a year become not worth £500. He told me some ridiculous pieces of thrift of Sir G. Downing's, who is his countryman, in inviting some poor people at Christmas last, to charm the country people's mouths; but did give them nothing but beef, porridge, pudding, and pork, and nothing said all dinner, but only his mother<sup>3</sup> would say, 'It's good broth, son.' He would answer, 'Yes, it is good broth.' Then, says his lady, 'Confirm all, and say, Yes, very good broth.' By and by she would begin and say, 'Good pork': 'Yes,' says the mother, 'good pork.' Then he cries, 'Yes, very good pork.' And so they said of all things; to which nobody made any answer, they going there not out of love or esteem of them, but to eat his victuals, knowing him to be a niggardly fellow; and with this he is jeered now all over the country. Comes Captain Story, of Cambridge, to me, about a bill for press-money; but, Lord! to see the natures of men: how this man, hearing my name, did ask me of my country, and told me of my cousin Roger, that he was not so wise a man as his father, for that he do not agree in Parliament with his fellow burgesses and knights of the shire, whereas I know very

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*April 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

chosen with regard to the convenience of the City; they stand a great many in a cluster about Cornhill: but that all of them are either in the gift of the Lord Archbishop, or Bishop of London, or Lord Chancellor, or gift of the City. Thus all things, even to the building of churches, are done in this world! And then he says, which I wonder at that he should not in all this time see, that Moorfields have houses two storeys high in them, and paved streets, the City having let leases for seven years, which he do conclude will be very much to the hindering the building of the City. But it was considered that the streets cannot be passable in London till the whole street be built; and several that had got ground of the City for charity, to build sheds on, had got the trick presently to sell that for £60 which did not cost them £20 to put up; and so the City, being very poor in stock, thought it as good to do it themselves, and therefore let leases for seven years of the ground in Moorfields. And a good deal of this money, thus advanced, hath been employed for the enabling them to find some money for Commissioner Taylor and Sir W. Batten, towards the charge of the Loyal London,<sup>1</sup> or else, it is feared, it had never been paid. This morning come to me the Collectors for my Poll-money; for which I paid for my title as Esquire and place of Clerk of Acts, and my head and wife's, and servants', and their wages, £40, 17s.; and though this be a great deal, yet it is a shame I should pay no more, that is, that I should not be assessed for my pay, as in the victualling business and Tangier; and for my money, which, of my own accord, I had determined to charge myself with £1000 money, till coming to the Vestry, and seeing nobody of our ablest merchants, as Sir Andrew Rickard, to do it, I thought it not decent for me to do it.

6th. To the Tower Wharf, to attend the shipping of soldiers, to go down to man some ships going out; and pretty to see how merrily some, and must go, and how sad others—the leave they take of their friends, and the terms that some wives, and other wenches, asked to part with them: a pretty mixture. Away to the Exchange, and mercers and drapers, up and down, to pay all my scores occasioned by this mourning for my mother; and emptied a £50 bag, and it was a joy to me to see that I am able to part with such a sum without much inconvenience: at least, without any trouble of mind.

7th. (Easter day.) With my wife to church, where Mr. Mills

<sup>1</sup> The ship given by the city to the king.



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charge ought to be mine, and therefore I endeavoured to part the company; and so ordered it to set them all down at Mrs. Pierce's; and there my wife and I and Mercer left them in good humour, and we three to the King's House, and saw the latter end of 'The Surprisal,'<sup>1</sup> wherein was no great matter. Thence away to Polichinello, and there had three times more sport than at the play, and so home.

9th. Towards noon, I to the Exchange, and there do hear mighty cries for peace, and that otherwise we shall be undone; and yet I do suspect the badness of the peace we shall make. Several do complain of abundance of land flung up by tenants out of their hands for want of ability to pay their rents; and by name, that the Duke of Buckingham hath £6000 so flung up. And my father writes that Jasper Trice,<sup>2</sup> upon this pretence of his tenants' dealing with him, is broke up housekeeping and gone to board with his brother, Naylor, at Offord; which is very sad. To the King's House, and there saw 'The Taming of a Shrew,' which hath some very good pieces in it, but generally is but a mean play; and the best part, Sawney,<sup>3</sup> done by Lacy; and hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me. Sir W. Batten tells me how he hath found his lady's jewels again, which have been so long lost, and a servant imprisoned and arraigned, and they were in her closet under a china cup; but Mrs. Turner and I, and others, do believe that they were only disposed of by my Lady, in case she had died, to some friends of hers, and now laid there again.

10th. To White Hall to Sir W. Coventry's. I begun to discourse with him the business of Tangier, which, by the removal of my Lord Bellasis, is now to have a new Governor; and did move him that at this season all the business of reforming the garrison might be considered, while nobody was to be offended; and I told him it is plain that we do overspend our revenue, that the place is of no more profit to the King than it was the first day, nor in itself of better credit, no more people of condition willing to live there, nor anything like a place likely to turn His Majesty to account;

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Sir Robert Howard.

<sup>2</sup> Jasper Trice, gent., died 27th October 1675.—Monumental inscription in Brampton church, Huntingdonshire.

<sup>3</sup> In 1698 was printed a drama called *Sawny the Scot, or the Taming of a Shrew*, which was a clumsy alteration of Shakespeare's play, the work of Lacy for the purpose of affording him an opportunity of distinguishing himself as an actor.

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11th. I to the 'Change, and there hear by Mr. Houblon of the loss of a little East Indiaman, valued at about £20,000, coming home alone, and safe to within ten leagues of Scilly, and there snapped by a French Caper.<sup>1</sup> With Balty to Sir G. Carteret's office, and there with Mr. Fenn despatched the business of Balty's £1500 he received for the contingencies of the fleet, whereof he received about £253 in pieces of eight at a goldsmith's there hard by, which did puzzle me and him to tell; for I could not tell the difference by sight, only by bigness, and that is not always discernible, between a whole and half-piece and quarter-piece. To White Hall, thinking there to have seen the Duchess of Newcastle's coming this night to Court, to make a visit to the Queen, the King having been with her yesterday, to make her a visit since her coming to town. The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic. Her footmen in velvet coats, and herself in an antique dress, as they say; and was the other day at her own play, 'The Humorous Lovers,' the most ridiculous thing that ever was wrote, but yet she and her Lord mightily pleased with it; and she, at the end, made her respects to the players from her box, and did give them thanks. There is as much expectation of her coming to Court, that so people may come to see her, as if it were the Queen of Sheba:<sup>2</sup> but I lost my labour, for she did not come this night. There have been two fires in the City within this week.

12th. Coming home, saw my door and hatch open, left so by Lucy, our cook-maid, which so vexed me, that I did give her a kick in our entry, and offered a blow at her, and was seen doing so by Sir W. Pen's footboy, which did vex me to the heart, because I know he will be telling their family of it; though I did put on presently a very pleasant face to the boy, and spoke kindly to him as one without passion, so as it may be he might not think I was angry, but I was troubled at it. So away by water to White Hall, and there did our usual business before the Duke of York: but it fell out that, discoursing of matters of money, it rose to a mighty heat, very high words arising between Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, the former in his passion saying that the other should have helped things if they were so bad; and the other answered, so he would, and things should have been better, had he been Treasurer

<sup>1</sup> A Dutch word, signifying a pirate, a *capiendo* (Skinner's *Etymological Dictionary*).

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of the Navy. I was mightily troubled at this heat, and it will breed ill blood between them, I fear; but things are in that bad condition, that I do daily expect we shall all fly in one another's faces, when we shall be reduced, every one, to answer for himself. We broke up; and I soon after to Sir G. Carteret's chamber, where I find the poor man telling his lady privately, and she weeping. I went in to them, and did seem, as indeed I was, troubled for this; and did give the best advice I could, which, I think, did please them: and they do apprehend me their friend, as indeed I am, for I do take the Vice-chamberlain for a most honest man. He did assure me that he was not, all expenses and things paid, clear in estate £15,000 better than he was when the King came in; and that the King and Lord Chancellor did know that he was worth, with the debt the King owed him, £50,000, I think, he said, when the King came into England.

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14th. (Lord's day.) Took out my wife, and the two Mercers, and two of our maids, Barker and Jane, and over the water to the Jamaica House,<sup>1</sup> where I never was before; and there the girls did run for wagers over the bowling-green; and there, with much pleasure, spent little, and so home.

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and he could not help me. So my wife and Mercer ventured into a pew, and I into another. A knight and his lady very civil to me when they came, being Sir G. Viner,<sup>1</sup> and his lady—rich in jewels, but most in beauty—almost the finest woman that ever I saw. That which I went chiefly to see was the young ladies of the schools, whereof there is great store, very pretty; and also the organ, which is handsome, and tunes the psalms, and plays with the people; which is might pretty, and makes me mighty earnest to have a pair at our church, I having almost a mind to give them a pair, if they would settle a maintenance on them for it.

22d. To the Lord Chancellor's house, the first time I have been therein; and it is very noble, and brave pictures of the ancient and present nobility. The King was vexed the other day for having no paper laid for him at the Council-table, as was usual; and Sir Richard Browne<sup>2</sup> did tell his Majesty he would call the person<sup>3</sup> whose work it was to provide it: who being come, did tell his Majesty that he was but a poor man, and was out £400 or £500 for it, which was as much as he is worth; and that he cannot provide it any longer without money, having not received a penny since the King's coming in. So the King spoke to my Lord Chamberlain; and many such mementos the King do nowadays meet withal, enough to make an ingenuous man mad.

23d. (St. George's day.) The feast being kept at White Hall, out of design, as it is thought, to make the best countenance we can to the Swede's Ambassadors, before their leaving us to go to the treaty abroad, to show some jollity.

24th. To St. James's, and there the Duke of York was preparing to go to some farther ceremonies about the Garter, that he could give us no audience. To Sir John Duncomb's<sup>4</sup> lodging in the Pall Mall, in order to the money spoken of in the morning; and there awhile sat and discoursed: and I find that he is a very proper man for business, being very resolute and proud, and industrious. He told me what reformation they had made in the Office of the

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Viner, in 1665, succeeded his father, Sir Thomas, who had been lord mayor in 1653, and created a baronet in 1660. Sir George died in 1673. His wife was Abigail, daughter of Sir John Laurence, lord mayor in 1665.

<sup>2</sup> Clerk of the council.

<sup>3</sup> Woolly.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Duncomb, Burgess for Bury St. Edmunds, a Privy Councillor, and made a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1667. At this time he was in the Ordnance.



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<sup>2</sup> This play was never printed, nor is it known to exist.

<sup>3</sup> A younger son of the first Earl of Berkshire, and brother to Sir Robert Howard.

seventeenth mistress abroad, did not leave him till she had got him to give her an order for £4000 worth of plate to be made for her; but by delays, thanks be to God! she died before she had it. He tells me mighty stories of the King of France, how great a prince he is. He hath made a code to shorten the law; he hath put out all the ancient commanders of castles that were become hereditary; he hath made all the friars subject to the bishops, which before were only subject to Rome, and so were hardly the King's subjects, and that none shall become *religieux* but at such an age, which he thinks will in a few years ruin the Pope and bring France into a patriarchate. He confirmed to me the business of the want of paper at the Council-table the other day, which I have observed; Woolly being to have found it, and did, being called, tell the King to his face the reason of it; and Mr. Evelyn tells me of several of the menial servants of the Court lacking bread, that have not received a farthing wages since the King's coming in. He tells me the King of France hath his mistresses, but laughs at the foolery of our King, that makes his bastards princes,<sup>1</sup> and loses his revenue upon them, and makes his mistresses his masters: and the King of France did never grant La Valière<sup>2</sup> anything to bestow on others, and gives a little subsistence, but no more, to his bastards. He told me the whole story of Mrs. Stuart's going away from Court, he knowing her well; and believes her, up to her leaving the Court, to be as virtuous as any woman in the world; and told me, from a Lord that she told it to but yesterday with her own mouth, and a sober man, that when the Duke of Richmond did make love to her she did ask the King, and he did the like also; and that the King did not deny it, and [she] told this Lord that she was come to that pass as to have resolved to have married any gentleman of £1500 a year that would have her in honour; for it was come to that pass, that she could not longer continue at Court without prostituting herself to the King, whom she had so long kept off, though he had liberty

<sup>1</sup> Louis made his own bastards dukes and princes, and legitimized them as much as he could, connecting them by marriage with the real blood-royal.

<sup>2</sup> Louise Françoise de la Beume le Blanc la Valière had four children by Louis XIV, of whom only two survived—Marie Anne de Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1666, afterwards married to the Prince de Conti, and the Comte de Vermandois, born in 1667. In that year (the very year in which Evelyn was giving this account to Pepys) the Duchy of Vaujour and two baronies were created in favour of La Valière and her daughter, who, in the deed of creation, was legitimized, and styled princess.

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<sup>1</sup> Evelyn evidently believed the Duchess of Richmond to be innocent, and her own declaration ought to weigh down all the scandal which Pepys reports from other sources.

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Castlemaine do show it; for he never was known to keep two mistresses in his life, and would never have kept to her had he prevailed anything with Mrs. Stuart. She is gone yesterday with her Lord to Cobham.<sup>1</sup> He did tell me of the ridiculous humour of our King and Knights of the Garter the other day, who, whereas heretofore their robes were only to be worn during their ceremonies and service, these, as proud of their coats, did wear them all day till night, and then rode into the Park with them on. Nay, and he tells me he did see my Lord Oxford and the Duke of Monmouth in a hackney coach with two footmen in the Park, with their robes on; which is a most scandalous thing, so as all gravity may be said to be lost among us. By and by we discoursed of Sir Thomas Clifford,<sup>2</sup> whom I took for a very rich and learned man, and of the great family of that name. He tells me he is only a man of about seven-score pounds a year, of little learning more than the law of a justice of peace, which he knows well: a parson's son, got to be burgess in a little borough in the West, and here fell into the acquaintance of my Lord Arlington, whose creature he is, and never from him; a man of virtue, and comely, and good parts enough; and hath come into his place with a great grace, though with a great skip over the heads of a great many, as Chicheley and Denham, and some Lords that did expect it. By the way, he tells me, that of all the great men of England there is none that endeavours more to raise those that he takes into favour than my Lord Arlington; and that, on that score, he is much more to be made one's patron than my Lord Chancellor, who never did, nor never will do, anything, but for money. After having this long discourse we parted. Certain news of the Dutch being abroad on our coast with twenty-four great ships. Met my Lady Newcastle going with her coachmen and footmen all in velvet: herself, whom I never saw before, as I have heard her often described, for all the town-talk is nowadays of her extravagancies, with her velvet cap, her hair about her ears, many black patches because of pimples about

<sup>1</sup> Cobham Hall, in Kent, after the attainder of Henry Lord Cobham, was granted by James I to Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox, and his brother George, Lord Aubigny, from whom it descended to Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, in 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Clifford was the eldest son of Hugh Clifford of Ugborough, in Devonshire, who had been entrusted with the command of a regiment of foot for the king, in the beginning of the Rebellion. Sir Thomas attended the Duke of York in the great sea fight with the Dutch, 3rd June 1665. On the 20th April 1672, he was created Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, county Devon; and on 28th November following appointed Lord High Treasurer. *Ob.* 1673.

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May 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

says, if my Lord [Sandwich] were here, he were the fittest man to be Lord Treasurer of any man in England; and he thinks it might be compassed, for he confesses that the King's matters do suffer through the inability of this man, who is likely to die, and he will propound him to the King. It will remove him from his place at sea and the King will have a good place to bestow. He says to me that he could wish, when my Lord comes, that he would think fit to forbear playing, as a thing below him, and which will lessen him, as it do my Lord St. Albans, in the King's esteem: and as a great secret tells me that he hath made a match for my Lord Hinchingbroke to a daughter<sup>1</sup> of my Lord Burlington's, where there is a great alliance, £10,000 portion; a civil family, and relation to my Lord Chancellor, whose son hath married one of the daughters:<sup>2</sup> and that my Lord Chancellor do take it with very great kindness, so that he do hold himself obliged by it. My Lord Sandwich hath referred it to my Lord Crewe, Sir G. Carteret, and Mr. Montagu, to end it. My Lord Hinchingbroke and the ladies know nothing yet of it. It will, I think, be very happy. Home, where I settled to my chamber about my accounts till twelve at night, when news is brought me that there is a great fire in Southwark: so we up to the leads, and then I and the boy down to the end of our lane, and there saw it, it seeming pretty great, but nothing to the fire of London, that it made me think little of it. We could at that distance see an engine play—that is, the water go out, it being moonlight. By and by it begun to slacken, and then I home and to bed.

30th. Sir John Winter to discourse with me about the forest of Dean, and then about my Lord Treasurer; and asking me whether, as he had heard, I had not been cut for the stone, I took him to my closet, and there showed it to him, of which he took the dimensions, and I believe will show my Lord Treasurer it. I met with Mr. Pierce, and he tells me the Duke of Cambridge is very ill and full of spots about his body, that Dr. Frazier knows not what to think of it. I am worth now £6,700.

May 1st. To Westminster, in the way meeting many milkmaids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing with a fiddler before them; and saw pretty Nelly<sup>3</sup> standing at her lodgings' door

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<sup>2</sup> Lawrence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester, married Lady Henrietta Boyle.

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May 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

for my Lord, the State being so indigent as it is, and the King so irregular, and those about him, that my Lord must be forced to part with anything to answer his warrants; and that, therefore, I do believe the King had rather have a man that may be one of his vicious cabal, than a sober man that will mind the public, that so they may sit at cards and dispose of the revenue of the kingdom. This my Lord was moved at, and said he did not indeed know how to answer it, and bid me think of it; and so said he himself would also do. He do mightily cry out of the bad management of our moneys, the King having had so much given him; and yet, when the Parliament do find that the King should have £900,000 in his purse by the best account of issues they have yet seen, yet we should report in the Navy a debt due from the King of £900,000; which, I did confess, I doubted was true in the first, and knew to be true in the last, and did believe that there was some great miscarriages in it: which he owned to believe also, saying, that at this rate it is not in the power of the kingdom to make a war, nor answer the King's wants. Thence away to the King's playhouse, and saw 'Love in a Maze,' but a sorry play: only Lacy's clown's part, which he did most admirably indeed; and I am glad to find the rogue at liberty again. Here was but little, and that ordinary, company. We sat at the upper bench next the boxes; and I find it do pretty well, and have the advantage of seeing and hearing the great people, which may be pleasant when there is good store. Now was only Prince Rupert and my Lord Lauderdale, and my Lord —, <sup>1</sup> the naming of whom puts me in mind of my seeing, at Sir Robert Viner's, two or three great silver flagons, made with inscriptions as gifts of the King to such and such persons of quality as did stay in town the late great plague, for the keeping things in order in the town. But here was neither Hart, Nell, nor Knipp; therefore the play was not likely to please me. Thence Sir W. Pen and I in his coach, Tyburn way, into the Park, where a horrid dust, and number of coaches, without pleasure or order. That which we, and almost all, went for, was to see my Lady Newcastle; which we could not, she being followed and crowded upon by coaches all the way she went, that nobody could come near her. Only I could see she was in a large black coach, adorned with silver instead of gold, and so white curtains, and everything black and white, and herself in her cap. But that which I did see, and wonder at with reason, was to find Pegg Pen in a new coach, with

<sup>1</sup> Probably Craven.



only her husband's pretty sister <sup>1</sup> with her, both patched and very fine, and in much the finest coach in the park, and I think that ever I did see one or other, for neatness and richness in gold, and everything that is noble. My Lady Castlemaine, the King, my Lord St. Albans, Mr. Jermyn, have not so neat a coach, that ever I saw. And, Lord! to have them have this, and nothing else that is correspondent, is to me one of the most ridiculous sights that ever I did see, though her present dress was well enough: but to live in the condition they do at home, and be abroad in this coach, astonishes me. When we had spent half an hour in the Park we went out again, weary of the dust and despairing of seeing my Lady Newcastle; and to St. James's. But we staying by the way to drink, she got home a little before us: so we lost our labours, and then home, where we find the two young ladies come home, and their patches off: I suppose Sir W. Pen do not allow of them in his sight. Sir W. Pen did give me an account this afternoon of his design of buying Sir Robert Brookes's fine house at Wanstead; which I so wondered at and did give him reasons against it, which he allowed of and told me that he did intend to pull down the house and build a less, and that he should get £1500 by the old house, and I know not what fooleries. But I will never believe he ever intended to buy it, for my part; <sup>2</sup> though he troubled Mr. Gauden to go and look upon it, and advise him in it.

2d. To my Lord Treasurer's, who continues so ill as not to be troubled with business.

3d. To the Duke of York's chamber, which, as it is now fretted at the top, and the chimney-piece made handsome, is one of the noblest and best proportioned rooms that ever, I think, I saw. Among other things, we had a proposition of Mr. Pierce's for being continued in pay, or something done for him in reward of his pains as Surgeon-General; forasmuch as Troutbeck, that was never a doctor before, hath got £200 a year settled on him for nothing but that one voyage with the Duke of Albemarle. The Duke and the whole company did show most particular kindness to Mr. Pierce, everybody moving for him, and the Duke himself most, that he is likely to be a very great man, I believe. To Westminster by coach; the Cofferer <sup>3</sup> telling us odd stories how

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Lowther, afterwards the wife of Sir John Holmes.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys's conjecture proved right. The house was not sold till Sir R. Brookes's death, when his heirs alienated it to Sir Josiah Child.

<sup>3</sup> William Ashburnham.

May 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

he was dealt with by the men of the Church at Westminster in taking a lease of them at the King's coming in,<sup>1</sup> and particularly the devilish covetousness of Dr. Busby.<sup>2</sup> Sir Stephen Fox, in discourse, told him how he is selling some land he hath, which yields him not above three per cent, if so much, and turning it into money, which he can put out at ten per cent; and, as times go, if they be like to continue, it is the best way for me to keep money going so, for aught I see. Took a turn with my old acquaintance Mr. Pechell, whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man. This day the news is come that the fleet of the Dutch, of about 20 ships, which came upon our coasts upon design to have intercepted our colliers, but by good luck failed, is gone to the Frith, and there lies, perhaps to trouble the Scotch privateers, which have galled them of late very much, it may be more than all our last year's fleet.

4th. To the office, where a great conflict I had with Sir W. Warren, he bringing a letter to the Board, flatly in words charging them with their delays in passing his accounts, which have been with them these three years, part of which I said was not true, and the other indecent. So I writ in the margin of the letter, 'Returned as untrue,' and, by consent of the Board, did give it him again.

5th. (Lord's day.) I met Sir John Robinson and by coach with him to White Hall, still a vain, prating, boasting man as any I know, as if the whole City and Kingdom had all its work done by him. He tells me he hath now got a street ordered to be continued, forty feet broad, from Paul's through Cannon Street to the Tower, which will be very fine. He and others this day, where I was in the afternoon, do tell me of at least six or eight fires within these few days; and continually stirs of fires, and real fires there have been, in one place or other, almost ever since the late great fire, as if there was a fate sent people for fire. I walked over the Park to Sir W. Coventry's. We talked of Tangier, of which he is ashamed; also that it should put the King to this charge for no good in the world: and now a man going over that is a good soldier, but a debauched man, which the place need not to have. And so used

<sup>1</sup> The lease here mentioned was of one of the prebendal mansions in the cloisters, known as Ashburnham House. The Cottonian Library was deposited in it at a later period; and in 1731 the disastrous fire occurred there which consumed so many treasures and injured others.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Busby, D.D., Master of Westminster School, and in 1660 made a prebendary of Westminster: he proved, at all events, a liberal benefactor to Christ Church, Oxford, and Lichfield Cathedral: *ob.* 1695, aged eighty-nine.

these words: 'That this place was to the King as my Lord Carnarvon<sup>1</sup> says of wood, that it is an excrescence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts.' So home to church, and so to dinner, and then had a little scolding with my wife for not being fine enough to go to the christening today, but I was in an ill humour and ashamed, indeed, that she should not go dressed. However, friends by and by, and we went by water to Michell's, and there his little house full, and mighty merry in this innocent company, and so the child was christened; my wife, his father, and her mother the witnesses, and the child's name Elizabeth. So we had gloves and wine and wafers, very pretty, and talked and tattled; and so we away by water and up with the tide as high as Barn Elms, it being a fine evening, and back again, and then home to supper and to bed with much pleasure. This day Sir W. Coventry tells me the Dutch fleet shot some shot, four or five hundred, into Burnt Island in the Frith, but without any hurt, and so are gone.

6th. Up, and angry with my maids for letting in watermen, and I know not who, anybody that they are acquainted with, into the kitchen to talk and prate with them, which I will not endure. To dinner, where Creed came, whom I vexed devilishly with telling him a wise man, and good friend of his and mine, did say that he lately went into the country to Hinchingbroke; and, at his coming to town again, had shifted his lodgings, only to avoid paying to the Poll Bill, which is so true that he blushed, and could not in words deny it. My wife do begin to give me real pleasure with her singing.

7th. To St. James's; but there find Sir W. Coventry gone out betimes this morning, on horseback, with the King and Duke of York, to Putney Heath, to run some horses.

8th. To enquire about the ground behind our house, of which I have a mind to buy enough to make a stable and coach-house; for I do see that my condition do require it, as well that it is more charge to my purse to live as I do than to keep one. So I home, where I find my wife's flageolet master, and I am so pleased with her proceeding, though she has lost time by not practising, that I am resolved for the encouragement of the man to learn myself a little for a month or so, for I do foresee if God send my wife and I to live, she will become very good company for me.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Dormer, second Earl of Carnarvon: *ob. s.p.* 1709. His father was killed at the battle of Newbury, fighting under the royal banner.

May 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

9th. Sir W. Coventry tells me he hears stories of Commissioner Pett, of selling timber to the Navy under other names, which I told him I believe is true, and did give him an instance. He told me also how his clerk Floyd he hath put away for his common idleness and ill company, and particularly that yesterday he was found not able to come and attend him, by being run into the arm in a squabble, though he pretends it was done in the streets by strangers, at nine at night, by the Maypole in the Strand. Sir W. Coventry did write to me this morning to recommend him another, which I could find in my heart to do W. Hewer for his good; but do believe he will not part with me, nor have I any mind to let him go. I would my brother were fit for it, I would adventure him there. He insists upon an unmarried man that can write well and hath French enough to transcribe it only from a copy, and may write short-hand, if it may be. To my Lord Chancellor at Clarendon House.<sup>1</sup> Mightily pleased with the nobleness of this house, and the brave furniture and pictures, which indeed is very noble. With Sir G. Carteret in his coach into Hyde Park, telling me all his concernments, and how he is gone through with the purchase for my Lady Jemimah and her husband; how the Treasury is like to come into the hands of a Committee; but that not that, nor anything else, will do our business, unless the king himself will mind his business and how his servants do execute their parts: that the King is very kind to him and to my Lord Sandwich, and that he doubts not but at his coming home, which he expects about Michaelmas, he will be very well received. My Lady Jemimah looks to lie down about two months hence. In our street, at the Three Tuns tavern, I find a great hubbub: and what was it but two brothers had fallen out, and one killed the other. And who should they be but the two Feildings, one whereof, Basil, was page to my Lady Sandwich; and he hath killed the other,<sup>2</sup> himself being very drunk, and so is sent to Newgate.

10th. At noon to Kent's, at the Three Tuns tavern: and there the constable of the parish did show us the picklocks and dice that were found in the dead man's pocket, and but 18*d.* in money; and a table-book, wherein were entered the names of several places

<sup>1</sup> It stood on the north side of Piccadilly, between Berkeley Street and Bond Street, and fronting St. James's Palace.

<sup>2</sup> It was Basil who was killed. He was the fourth son of George Feilding, Earl of Desmond, who died *v. p.*, and whose eldest son, on the death of his grandfather, succeeded to the earldom of Denbigh.

where he was to go; and among others Kent's house, where he was to dine, and did dine yesterday; and after dinner went into the church, and there saw his corpse with the wound in his left breast; a sad spectacle, and a broad wound, which makes my hand now shake to write of it. His brother intending, it seems, to kill the coachman, who did not please him, this fellow stepped in and took away his sword; who thereupon took out his knife, which was of the fashion, with a falchion blade and a little cross at the hilt like a dagger, and with that stabbed him. Drove hard towards Clerkenwell, thinking to have overtaken my Lady Newcastle, whom I saw before us in her coach, with 100 boys and girls running looking upon her: but I could not: and so she got home before I could come up to her. But I will get a time to see her.

11th. Home, and there found my door open, which makes me very angry with Nell, and do think to put her away for it, though it do so go against me to part with a servant that it troubles me more than anything in the world. So away with my wife, whose being dressed this day in fair hair did make me so mad that I spoke not one word to her in our going, though I was ready to burst with anger. So to White Hall, to the Committee of Tangier, but so dull and so little to the purpose that I fell to slumber. After that, Creed and I into the Park, and walked, a most pleasant evening, and so took coach, and took up my wife, and in my way home discovered my trouble to my wife for her white locks, swearing several times, which I pray God forgive me for, and bending my fist, that I would not endure it. She, poor wretch, was surprised with it, and made me no answer all the way home; but there we parted, and I to the office late, and then home, and without supper to bed, vexed.

12th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to my chamber, to settle some accounts there; and by and by down comes my wife to me in her night-gown, and we begun calmly, that, upon having money to lace her gown for second mourning, she would promise to wear white locks no more in my sight, which I, like a severe fool, thinking not enough, begun to except against, and made her fly out to very high terms and cry, and in her heat told me of keeping company with Mrs. Knipp, saying, that if I would promise never to see her more—of whom she hath more reason to suspect than I had heretofore of Pembleton—she would never wear white locks more. This vexed me, but I restrained myself from saying anything, but do think never to see this woman—at least, to have her

*May 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

here more—but by and by I did give her money to buy lace, and she promised to wear no more white locks while I lived; and so all very good friends as ever. My wife and I bethought ourselves to go to a French house to dinner, and so enquired out Monsieur Robins, my periwig-maker, who keeps an ordinary, and in an ugly street in Covent Garden did find him at the door, and so we in; and in a moment almost had the table covered, and clean glasses, and all in the French manner, and a mess of potage first, and then a piece of bœuf-à-la-mode, all exceeding well seasoned and to our great liking; at least it would have been anywhere else but in this bad street, and in a periwig-maker's house; but to see the pleasant and ready attendance that we had, and all things so desirous to please, and ingenious in the people, did take me mightily. Our dinner cost us 6s. Walked over the fields to Kingsland and back again, a walk, I think, I have not taken these twenty years; but puts me in mind of my boy's time, when I boarded at Kingsland and used to shoot with my bow and arrows in these fields. A very pretty place it is, and little did any of my friends think I should come to walk in these fields in this condition and state that I am. Then took coach again, and home through Shoreditch; and at home my wife finds Barker to have been abroad, and telling her so many lies about it, that she struck her, and the wench said she would not stay with her: so I examined the wench, and found her in so many lies myself, that I was glad to be rid of her, and so resolved having her go away tomorrow.

13th. My wife rising to send away Barker, according to our resolution last night, and she did do it with more clothes than have cost us £10, and 20s. in her purse, which I did for the respect I bear Mr. Falconbridge, otherwise she had not deserved half of it. This morning came Sir H. Cholmley to me for a tally or two; and tells me that he hears that we are by agreement to give the King of France Nova Scotia, which he do not like: but I do not know the importance of it. Sir Philip Warwick do please himself, like a good man, to tell some of the good ejaculations of my Lord Treasurer concerning the little worth of this world, to buy it with so much pain, and other things fit for a dying man.

14th. To my Lord Chancellor's, where I met Mr. Povy, expecting the coming of the rest of the Commissioners for Tangier. Here I understand how the two Dukes, both the only sons of the Duke of York, are sick even to danger, and that on Sunday last

they were both so ill, as that the poor Duchess was in doubt which would die first: the Duke of Cambridge of some general disease; the other little Duke,<sup>1</sup> whose title I know not, of the convulsion fits, of which he had four this morning. Fear that either of them might be dead did make us think that it was the occasion that the Duke of York and others were not come to the meeting of the Commission which was designed, and my Lord Chancellor did expect. And it was pretty to observe how, when my Lord sent down to St. James's to see why the Duke of York came not, and Mr. Povy, who went, returned, my Lord [Chancellor] did ask, not how the Princes or the Dukes do, as other people do, but, 'How do the children?' which methought was mighty great, and like a great man and grandfather. I find everybody mightily concerned for these children as a matter wherein the State is much concerned that they should live.

15th. To the Duke of York's chamber, who when ready, we to our usual business. I away with Sir G. Carteret to London, talking all the way: and he do tell me that the business of my Lord Hinchinbroke his marriage with my Lord Burlington's daughter is concluded on by all friends; and that my Lady is now told of it, and do mightily please herself with it: which I am mighty glad of. News still that my Lord Treasurer is so ill as not to be any man of this world; and it is said that the Treasury shall be managed by Commission. I would to God Sir G. Carteret or my Lord Sandwich be in it! But the latter is the more fit for it. This day going to White Hall, Sir W. Batten did tell me strange stories of Sir W. Pen, how he is already ashamed of the fine coach which his son-in-law and daughter have made; and indeed it is one of the most ridiculous things for people of their low, mean fashion, to make such a coach, that ever I saw. He tells me how his people come as they do to mine every day to borrow one thing or other, and that his Lady has been forced to sell some coats in the late dear time, only to enable her to pay money that she has borrowed of Griffin to defray her family expense; which is a strange story for a rogue that spends so much on clothes and other occasions himself as he do.

16th. This being Holy Thursday, when the boys go on procession round the parish, we were to go to the Three Tuns tavern, to dine with the rest of the parish; where all the parish almost was, Sir Andrew Rickard and others; and of our house, J. Minnes, W.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Stuart, Duke of Kendal, born 1666.

*May 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

Batten, W. Pen, and myself: and Mr. Mills did sit uppermost at the table. Sir John Frederick <sup>1</sup> and Sir R. Ford did talk of Paul's School, which, they tell me, must be taken away: and then I fear it will be long before another place, such as they say is promised, is found; but they do say that the honour of their company <sup>2</sup> is concerned in the doing of it, and that it is a thing that they are obliged to do. To my Lord Treasurer's, where I find the porter crying, and suspected it was that my Lord is dead: and, poor Lord! we did find that he was dead just now; and the crying of the fellow did so trouble me, that considering I was not likely to trouble him any more, nor have occasion to give any more, I did give him 3s.; but it may be, poor man, he hath lost a considerable hope by the death of this Lord, whose house will be no more frequented. There is a good man gone: and I pray God that the Treasury may not be worse managed by the hand or hands it shall now be put into; though, for certain, the slowness (though he was of great integrity) of this man, and remissness, have gone as far to undo the nation as anything else that hath happened; and yet, if I knew all the difficulties that he hath lain under, and his instrument Sir Philip Warwick, I might be brought to another mind. It is remarkable that this afternoon Mr. Moore came to me, and there, among other things, did tell me how Mr. Moyer, <sup>3</sup> the merchant, having procured an order from the King and Duke of York and Council, with the consent of my Lord Chancellor and by assistance of Lord Arlington, for the releasing out of prison his brother, Samuel Moyer (who was a great man in the late times in Haberdashers' Hall), and was engaged under hand and seal to give the man that obtained it so much in behalf of my Lord Chancellor; but it seems my Lady Duchess of Albemarle had before undertaken it for so much money, but hath not done it. The Duke of Albemarle did the next day send for this Moyer, to tell him that, notwithstanding this order of the King and Council's being passed for release of his brother, yet, if he did not consider the pains of some friends of his,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mayor of London 1662, and president of Christ's Hospital. His eldest son, John, was created a baronet 1723.

<sup>2</sup> The Mercers' Company, under whose superintendence St. Paul's School was placed by Dean Colet, the founder.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Moyer, of Low Leyton, in Essex, whose son of the same name was afterwards Sir Samuel Moyer, Bart., and High Sheriff of Essex, in 1698. He had also been one of the Council of State. His widow, Rebecca, daughter of Alderman Sir William Joliffe, founded the well-known Lady Moyer's Lectures.



they were both so ill, as that the poor Duchess was in doubt which would die first: the Duke of Cambridge of some general disease; the other little Duke,<sup>1</sup> whose title I know not, of the convulsion fits, of which he had four this morning. Fear that either of them might be dead did make us think that it was the occasion that the Duke of York and others were not come to the meeting of the Commission which was designed, and my Lord Chancellor did expect. And it was pretty to observe how, when my Lord sent down to St. James's to see why the Duke of York came not, and Mr. Povy, who went, returned, my Lord [Chancellor] did ask, not how the Princes or the Dukes do, as other people do, but, 'How do the children?' which methought was mighty great, and like a great man and grandfather. I find everybody mightily concerned for these children as a matter wherein the State is much concerned that they should live.

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May 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

cleanest hands that ever any Lord Treasurer did. Mr. Howe to see us; and, among other things, told us how the Barristers and Students of Gray's Inn rose in rebellion against the Benchers the other day, who outlawed them, and a great deal of do; but now they are at peace again.

20th. Among other news, I hear that the Commissioners for the Treasury were named by the King yesterday; but who they are nobody could tell: but the persons are the Lord Chancellor, the two Secretaries, Lord Ashley, and others say Sir. W. Coventry and Sir John Duncomb, but all conclude the Duke of Albemarle; but reports do differ. It being a broken day, did walk abroad, first through the Minories, the first time I have been over the Hill to the postern-gate, and seen the place, since the houses were pulled down about that side of the Tower, since the fire. I find it everywhere doubted whether we shall have a peace or no, and the captain of one of our ships that went with the Ambassadors do say that the seamen of Holland in his hearing did defy us, and called us English dogs, and cried out against peace, and that the great people there do oppose peace, though he says the common people do wish it.

21st. To Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there viewed several coach-houses. Thence home; but, Lord! how it went against my heart to go away from the very door of the Duke's playhouse, and my Lady Castlemaine's coach, and many great coaches there, to see 'The Siege of Rhodes.' I was very near making a forfeit, but I did command myself. Mrs. Turner and I sat up, talking alone of our neighbours. As to my Lord Brouncker, she says how Mrs. Griffin, our housekeeper's wife, hath it from his maid, that comes to her house often, that they are very poor; that the other day Mrs. Williams was fain to send a jewel to pawn; that my Lord hath put the King to infinite charge since his coming thither, and hath had of Foley, the ironmonger, £50 worth in locks and keys for his house, having some of £4 and £5 a lock, such as is in ladies' closets; that he do not keep Mrs. Williams now for love, but need, he having another mistress that he keeps in Covent Garden. Then we fell to talk of Sir W. Pen, and his family and rise. She [Mrs. Turner] says that he was a pitiful [fellow] when she first knew them; that his lady was one of the sourest, dirty women, that ever she saw; that they took two chambers, one over another, for themselves and child, in Tower Hill; that for many years together they eat more meals at her house than at their own; did call

brothers and sisters the husbands and wives; that her husband was godfather to one, and she godmother to another, this Margaret, of their children, by the same token that she was fain to write with her own hand a letter to Captain Twiddy, to stand for a godfather for her; that she brought my Lady (who then was a dirty slattern with her stockings hanging about her heels, so that afterwards the people of the whole Hill did say that Mrs. Turner had made Mrs. Pen a gentlewoman) first to the knowledge of my Lady Vane,<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry's lady, and him to the knowledge of most of the great people that then he sought to; and that in short his rise hath been his giving of large bribes, wherein (and she agrees with my opinion and knowledge before therein) he is very profuse. This made him General; this got him out of the Tower when he was in; and hath brought him into what he is now, since the King's coming in that long ago, indeed, he would drink the King's health privately with Mr. Turner; but that when he saw it fit to turn Roundhead, and was offered by Mr. Turner to drink the King's health, he answered 'No'; he was changed, and now he that would make him drink the King's health, or any health but the Protector's and State's, or to that purpose, he would be the first man should sheathe his sword in his guts. That at the King's coming in he did send for her husband, and told him what a great man Sir W. Coventry was like to be, and that he having all the records in his hands of the Navy, if he would transcribe what was of most present use of the practice of the Navy, and give them him to give Sir W. Coventry from him, it would undoubtedly do his business of getting him a principal officer's place; that her husband was at £5 charge to get these presently writ; that Sir W. Pen did give them Sir W. Coventry as from himself, which did set him up with W. Coventry, and made him what he is, and never owned anything of Mr. Turner in them; by which he left him in the lurch, though he did promise the Duke of Albemarle to do all that was possible, and made no question of Mr. Turner's being what he desired; and when afterwards, too, did propose to him the getting of the Purveyor's place for him, he did tell Mr. Turner it was necessary to present Sir W. Coventry 100 pieces, which he did, and W. Coventry took 80 of them: so that he was W. Coventry's mere broker as Sir W. Batten and my Lady did once tell my Lady Duchess of Albemarle, in the case of Mr. Falconer, whom W. Pen

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May 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

made to give W. Coventry £200 for his place of Clerk of the Ropeyard of Woolwich, and to settle £80 a year upon his daughter Pegg, after the death of his wife, and a gold watch presently to his wife. That my Lady and Pegg have themselves owned to her that Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen had private marks to write to one another by, that when they in appearance writ a fair letter in behalf of anybody, that they had a little mark to show they meant it only in show: this, these silly people did confess themselves of him. That his rise hath been by her and her husband's means, and that it is a most inconceivable thing how this man can have the face to use her and her family with the neglect that he do them. That he was in the late war a most devilish plunderer, and that got him his estate, which he hath in Ireland, and nothing else. Upon the whole, she told me stories ought to confirm me that he is the most false fellow that ever was born of woman, and that so she thinks and knows him to be.

22d. Up, and by water to White Hall, to Sir G. Carteret, who tells me now for certain how the Commission for the Treasury is disposed of: viz., to Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley, Sir W. Coventry, Sir John Duncomb, and Sir Thomas Clifford; at which, he says, all the whole Court is disturbed, it having been once concluded otherwise into the other hands formerly mentioned in yesterday's notes, but all of a sudden the King's choice was changed, and these are to be the men; the first of which is only for a puppet to give honour to the rest. He do presage that these men will make it their business to find faults in the management of the late Lord Treasurer, and in discouraging the bankers: but I am, whatever I in compliance do say to him, of another mind, and my heart is very glad of it, for I do expect they will do much good, and that it is the happiest thing that hath appeared to me for the good of the nation since the King came in. Thence to St. James's, and up to the Duke of York; and there in his chamber Sir W. Coventry did of himself take notice of this business of the Treasury, wherein he is in the Commission, and desired that I would be thinking of anything fit for him to be acquainted with for the lessening of charge and bettering of our credit, and what our expense hath been since the King's coming home, which he believes will be one of the first things they shall enquire into: which I promised him, and from time to time, which he desires, will give him an account of what I can think of worthy his knowledge. I am mighty glad of this opportunity of professing my joy to him in

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big enough to prevent my mistake of that for a colt, if ever I become Mayor of Huntingdon.<sup>1</sup>

23d. Home, and with my father dined, and, poor man! he hath put off his travelling-clothes today, and is mighty spruce, and I love to see him cheerful. Sir John Duncomb is sworn yesterday a Privy Councillor. This day I hear also that last night the Duke of Kendal, second son of the Duke of York, did die; and that the other, Duke of Cambridge, continues very ill still.

24th. My wife not well, but yet engaged by invitation to go with Sir W. Pen. I got her to go with him by coach to Islington to the old house, where his lady and Madam Lowther,<sup>2</sup> with her exceeding fine coach and mean horses, and her mother-in-law, did meet us, and two of Mr. Lowther's brothers,<sup>3</sup> and here dined upon nothing but pigeon pies, which was such a thing for him to invite all the company to, that I was ashamed. But after dinner was all our sport, when there come in a juggler, who, indeed, did show us so good tricks as I have never seen in my life, I think, of legerdemain, and such as my wife hath since seriously said that she would not believe but that he did them by the help of the devil. Here, after a bad dinner, and but ordinary company (saving that I discern good parts in one of the sons, who, methought, did take me up very prettily in one or two things that I said), we broke up, and I and Sir W. Pen to the King's playhouse, and there saw 'The Maiden Queen,'<sup>4</sup> which, though I have often seen, yet pleases me infinitely, it being impossible, I think, ever to have the Queen's part, which is very good and passionate, and Florimel's part, which is the most comical that ever was made for woman, ever done better than they are by young Marshall and Nelly.

<sup>1</sup> During a very high flood in the meadows between Huntingdon and Godmanchester, something was seen floating, which the Godmanchester people thought was a black pig, and the Huntingdon folks declared was a sturgeon; when rescued from the waters, it proved to be a young donkey. This mistake led to the one party being styled 'Godmanchester's black pigs,' and the other, 'Huntingdon's sturgeons,' terms not altogether forgotten at this day. Pepys's 'colt' must be taken to be the colt of an ass.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, widow of Morgan Davis, Esq., the third wife of Alderman Robert Lowther, was the lady here referred to.

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*May 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

I ended to my great content, and did make amends for the loss of our mirth this night by getting this done.

30th. After dinner I walked to Arundel House, the way very dusty, the day of meeting of the Society being changed from Wednesday to Thursday, which I knew not before, because the Wednesday is a Council-day, and several of the Council are of the Society, and would come but for their attending the King at Council; where I find much company in expectation of the Duchess of Newcastle, who had desired to be invited to the Society; and was, after much debate pro and con, it seems many being against it; and we do believe the town will be full of ballads of it. Anon comes the Duchess with her women attending her; among others, the Ferrabosco, of whom so much talk is that her lady would bid her show her face and kill the gallants. She is indeed black, and hath good black little eyes, but otherwise a very ordinary woman I do think, but they say sings well. The Duchess hath been a good, comely woman; but her dress so antic, and her deportment so ordinary, that I do not like her at all, nor do I hear her say anything that was worth hearing, but that she was full of admiration, all admiration. Several fine experiments were shown her of colours, loadstones, microscopes, and of liquors: among others, of one that did, while she was there, turn a piece of roasted mutton into pure blood, which was very rare. Here was Mrs. Moore of Cambridge, whom I had not seen before, and I was glad to see her; as also a pretty black boy that run up and down the room, somebody's child in Arundel House. After they had shown her many experiments, and she cried still she was full of admiration, she departed, being led out and in by several Lords that were there, among others, Lord George Berkeley and Earl of Carlisle, and a very pretty young man, the Duke of Somerset.<sup>1</sup>

31st. At the Treasury chamber. Here I saw Duncomb look as big, and take as much state on him, as if he had been born a lord. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmley, who tells me that he is told this day by Secretary Morris that he believes we are, and shall be, only fooled by the French; and that the Dutch are very high and insolent, and do look upon us as come over only to beg a peace; which troubles me very much, and I do fear it is true. Thence to Sir G. Carteret at his lodgings, who, I perceive, is mightily displeased with this new Treasury; and he hath reason, for it will eclipse him; and he tells me that my Lord Ashley says they

<sup>1</sup> Francis Seymour, fifth Duke of Somerset, murdered in Italy, 1678.

brothers and sisters the husbands and wives; that her husband was godfather to one, and she godmother to another, this Margaret, of their children, by the same token that she was fain to write with her own hand a letter to Captain Twiddy, to stand for a godfather for her; that she brought my Lady (who then was a dirty slattern with her stockings hanging about her heels, so that afterwards the people of the whole Hill did say that Mrs. Turner had made Mrs. Pen a gentlewoman) first to the knowledge of my Lady Vane,<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry's lady, and him to the knowledge of most of the great people that then he sought to; and that in short his rise hath been his giving of large bribes, wherein (and she agrees with my opinion and knowledge before therein) he is very profuse. This made him General; this got him out of the Tower when he was in; and hath brought him into what he is now, since the King's coming in that long ago, indeed, he would drink the King's health privately with Mr. Turner; but that when he saw it fit to turn Roundhead, and was offered by Mr. Turner to drink the King's health, he answered 'No'; he was changed, and now he that would make him drink the King's health, or any health but the Protector's and State's, or to that purpose, he would be the first man should sheathe his sword in his guts. That at the King's coming in he did send for her husband, and told him what a great man Sir W. Coventry was like to be, and that he having all the records in his hands of the Navy, if he would transcribe what was of most present use of the practice of the Navy, and give them him to give Sir W. Coventry from him, it would undoubtedly do his business of getting him a principal officer's place; that her husband was at £5 charge to get these presently writ; that Sir W. Pen did give them Sir W. Coventry as from himself, which did set him up with W. Coventry, and made him what he is, and never owned anything of Mr. Turner in them; by which he left him in the lurch, though he did promise the Duke of Albemarle to do all that was possible, and made no question of Mr. Turner's being what he desired; and when afterwards, too, did propose to him the getting of the Purveyor's place for him, he did tell Mr. Turner it was necessary to present Sir W. Coventry 100 pieces, which he did, and W. Coventry took 80 of them: so that he was W. Coventry's mere broker as Sir W. Batten and my Lady did once tell my Lady Duchess of Albemarle, in the case of Mr. Falconer, whom W. Pen

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that I can understand but little of it, but enough to see that he is a most excellent man.

3d. Met Mr. Mills, our parson, whom I went back with to bring him to Sir W. Coventry, to give him the form of a qualification for the Duke of York to sign to, to enable him to have two livings: which was a service I did, but much against my will, for a lazy, fat priest. Sir William Doyly did lay a wager with me, the Treasurership would be in one hand, notwithstanding this present Commission, before Christmas: on which we did lay a poll of ling, a brace of carps, and a pottle of wine; and Sir W. Pen and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of them. Thence down by water to Deptford, it being Trinity Monday, when the Master is chosen: and there, finding them all at church, and thinking they dined, as usual, at Stepney, I turned back, having a good book in my hand, the *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, wrote by his own servant,<sup>1</sup> and to Ratcliffe, and so walked to Stepney, and spent my time in the church-yard, looking over the grave-stones, expecting when the company would come by. Finding no company stirring, I sent to the house to see; and, it seems, they dine not there, but at Deptford: so I back again to Deptford, and there find them just sat down. And so I down with them; and we had a good dinner of plain meat, and good company at our table: among others, my good Mr. Evelyn, with whom, after dinner, I stepped aside, and talked upon the present posture of our affairs; which is, that the Dutch are known to be abroad with eighty sail of ships of war, and twenty fire-ships; and the French come into the Channel with twenty sail of men-of-war, and five fire-ships, while we have not a ship at sea to do them any hurt with, but are calling in all we can, while our Ambassadors are treating at Breda; and the Dutch look upon them as come to beg peace, and use them accordingly: and all this through the negligence of our Prince, who hath power, if he would, to master all these with the money and men that he hath had the command of, and may now have, if he would mind his business. But, for aught we see, the Kingdom is likely to be lost, as well as the reputation of it is, for ever; notwithstanding so much reputation got and preserved by a rebel that went before him. In the Treasury Chamber an hour or two, where we saw the Country Receivers and Accountants come to attend; and one of them, a brisk young fellow, with his hat cocked like a fool behind, as the present fashion among the blades

<sup>1</sup> George Cavendish, gentleman-usher to the cardinal.

brothers and sisters the husbands and wives; that her husband was godfather to one, and she godmother to another, this Margaret, of their children, by the same token that she was fain to write with her own hand a letter to Captain Twiddy, to stand for a godfather for her; that she brought my Lady (who then was a dirty slattern with her stockings hanging about her heels, so that afterwards the people of the whole Hill did say that Mrs. Turner had made Mrs. Pen a gentlewoman) first to the knowledge of my Lady Vane,<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry's lady, and him to the knowledge of most of the great people that then he sought to; and that in short his rise hath been his giving of large bribes, wherein (and she agrees with my opinion and knowledge before therein) he is very profuse. This made him General; this got him out of the Tower when he was in; and hath brought him into what he is now, since the King's coming in that long ago, indeed, he would drink the King's health privately with Mr. Turner; but that when he saw it fit to turn Roundhead, and was offered by Mr. Turner to drink the King's health, he answered 'No'; he was changed, and now he that would make him drink the King's health, or any health but the Protector's and State's, or to that purpose, he would be the first man should sheathe his sword in his guts. That at the King's coming in he did send for her husband, and told him what a great man Sir W. Coventry was like to be, and that he having all the records in his hands of the Navy, if he would transcribe what was of most present use of the practice of the Navy, and give them him to give Sir W. Coventry from him, it would undoubtedly do his business of getting him a principal officer's place; that her husband was at £5 charge to get these presently writ; that Sir W. Pen did give them Sir W. Coventry as from himself, which did set him up with W. Coventry, and made him what he is, and never owned anything of Mr. Turner in them; by which he left him in the lurch, though he did promise the Duke of Albemarle to do all that was possible, and made no question of Mr. Turner's being what he desired; and when afterwards, too, did propose to him the getting of the Purveyor's place for him, he did tell Mr. Turner it was necessary to present Sir W. Coventry 100 pieces, which he did, and W. Coventry took 80 of them: so that he was W. Coventry's mere broker as Sir W. Batten and my Lady did once tell my Lady Duchess of Albemarle, in the case of Mr. Falconer, whom W. Pen

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*June 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

while so many of the enemy's ships are at this day triumphing in the sea. Sir G. Carteret showed me a gentleman coming by in his coach, who hath been sent for up out of Lincolnshire, I think he says he is a justice of peace there, that the Council have laid by the heels here, and here lies in a messenger's hands, for saying that a man and his wife are but one person, and so ought to pay but 12*d.* for both to the Poll Bill; by which others were led to do the like, and so here he lies prisoner.

6th. With my father and wife to Sir W. Pen's to dinner, which they invited us to out of their respect to my father, as a stranger; though I know them as false as the devil himself, and that it is only that they think it fit to oblige me; wherein I am a happy man, that all my fellow officers are desirous of my friendship. Mr. Pierce tells me that the Duke of Cambridge is yet living, but every minute expected to die.

7th. With Mr. Townsend, whom I sent for to come to me to discourse about my Lord Sandwich's business; for whom I am in some pain, lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be in so good order as may please the new Lords Treasurers, who are quick-sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world by their finding and mending of faults, and are, most of them, not the best friends to my Lord.

8th. Up, and to the office, where all the news this morning is that the Dutch are come with a fleet of eighty sail to Harwich, and that guns were heard plain by Sir W. Rider's people at Bethnal Green, all yesterday even. Home, where our dinner a ham of French bacon, boiled with pigeons, an excellent dish. The news is confirmed that the Dutch are off Harwich, but had done nothing last night. The king hath sent down my Lord of Oxford to raise the countries there; and all the Western barges are taken up to make a bridge over the River, about the Hope, for horse to cross the river, if there be occasion.

9th. (Lord's day.) I hear that the Duke of Cambridge, who was given over long since by the Doctors, is now likely to recover; for which God be praised! To Sir W. Coventry, and there talked with him a great while, and mighty glad I was of my good fortune to visit him, for it keeps in my acquaintance with him, and the world sees it, and reckons my interest accordingly. In comes my Lord Berkeley, who is going down to Harwich also to look after the militia there; and there is also the Duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young hectors, the Lord Chesterfield, my

brothers and sisters the husbands and wives; that her husband was godfather to one, and she godmother to another, this Margaret, of their children, by the same token that she was fain to write with her own hand a letter to Captain Twiddy, to stand for a godfather for her; that she brought my Lady (who then was a dirty slattern with her stockings hanging about her heels, so that afterwards the people of the whole Hill did say that Mrs. Turner had made Mrs. Pen a gentlewoman) first to the knowledge of my Lady Vane,<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry's lady, and him to the knowledge of most of the great people that then he sought to; and that in short his rise hath been his giving of large bribes, wherein (and she agrees with my opinion and knowledge before therein) he is very profuse. This made him General; this got him out of the Tower when he was in; and hath brought him into what he is now, since the King's coming in that long ago, indeed, he would drink the King's health privately with Mr. Turner; but that when he saw it fit to turn Roundhead, and was offered by Mr. Turner to drink the King's health, he answered 'No'; he was changed, and now he that would make him drink the King's health, or any health but the Protector's and State's, or to that purpose, he would be the first man should sheathe his sword in his guts. That at the King's coming in he did send for her husband, and told him what a great man Sir W. Coventry was like to be, and that he having all the records in his hands of the Navy, if he would transcribe what was of most present use of the practice of the Navy, and give them him to give Sir W. Coventry from him, it would undoubtedly do his business of getting him a principal officer's place; that her husband was at £5 charge to get these presently writ; that Sir W. Pen did give them Sir W. Coventry as from himself, which did set him up with W. Coventry, and made him what he is, and never owned anything of Mr. Turner in them; by which he left him in the lurch, though he did promise the Duke of Albemarle to do all that was possible, and made no question of Mr. Turner's being what he desired; and when afterwards, too, did propose to him the getting of the Purveyor's place for him, he did tell Mr. Turner it was necessary to present Sir W. Coventry 100 pieces, which he did, and W. Coventry took 80 of them: so that he was W. Coventry's mere broker as Sir W. Batten and my Lady did once tell my Lady Duchess of Albemarle, in the case of Mr. Falconer, whom W. Pen

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good posture and credit. Down to Greenwich, where I find the stairs full of people, there being a great riding<sup>1</sup> there today for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him. Down to Gravesend, where I find the Duke of Albemarle just come, with a great many idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries; and the bulwark<sup>2</sup> not able to have stood half an hour had they come up; but the Dutch are fallen down from the Hope and Shell-haven as low as Sheerness, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play. Yet I do not find the Duke of Albemarle intends to go thither, but stays here tonight, and hath, though the Dutch are gone, ordered our frigates to be brought to a line between the two blockhouses; which I took then to be a ridiculous thing. I find the townsmen had removed most of their goods out of the town, for fear of the Dutch coming up to them; and from Sir John Griffen,<sup>3</sup> that last night there was not twelve men to be got in the town to defend it: which the master of the house tells me is not true, but that the men of the town did intend to stay, though they did indeed, and so had he, at the Ship, removed their goods. Thence went off to an Ostend man-of-war, just now come up, who met the Dutch fleet, who took three ships that he came convoying hither from him: says they are as low as the Nore, or thereabouts.

11th. Sir W. Batten and I to the office, where Brouncker came to us, who is just now going to Chatham upon a desire of Commissioner Pett's, who is very fearful of the Dutch, and desires help for God and the King and kingdom's sake. So Brouncker goes down, and Sir J. Minnes, also, from Gravesend. This morning Pett writes us word that Sheerness is lost last night, after two or three hours' dispute. The enemy hath possessed himself of that place; which is very sad, and puts us into great fears of Chatham. After dinner, by W. Hewer's lucky advice, went to Mr. Fenn, and did get him to pay me about £400 of my wages, and W. Hewer received it for me, and brought it home this night. Home, and there to our business, hiring some fire-ships, and receiving every

<sup>1</sup> It was an ancient custom, when a man had beaten his wife, for the neighbours to parade in front of his house, for the purpose of serenading him with kettles, and horns, and hand-bells, and every species of 'rough music,' by which name the ceremony was designated. Perhaps the 'riding' mentioned by Pepys was a punishment somewhat similar.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the block-house.

<sup>3</sup> An error for Sir John Griffith, captain of the fort at Gravesend, who was knighted at Whitehall, and January 1665.



hour almost letters from Sir W. Coventry, calling for more fire-ships: and an order from Council to enable us to take any man's ships; and Sir W. Coventry, in his letter to us, says he do not doubt but at this time, under an invasion, as he owns it to be, the King may, by law, take any man's goods. At this business late, and then home, where a great deal of serious talk with my wife about the sad state we are in, and especially from the beating up of drums this night for the train-bands upon pain of death to appear in arms tomorrow morning, with bullet and powder, and money to supply themselves with victuals for a fortnight; which, considering the soldiers drawn out to Chatham and elsewhere, looks as if they had a design to ruin the City and give it up to be undone; which, I hear, makes the sober citizens to think very sadly of things.

12th. Up very betimes to our business at the office, there hiring of more fire-ships, and at it close all the morning. At noon home, and Sir W. Pen dined with us. By and by, after dinner, my wife out by coach to see her mother; and I in another, being afraid, at this busy time, to be seen with a woman in a coach, as if I were idle, towards The. Turner's: but met Sir W. Coventry's boy, and there in a letter find that the Dutch had made no motion since their taking Sheerness; and the Duke of Albemarle writes that all is safe as to the great ships against any assault, the boom and chain being so fortified; which put my heart into great joy. When I come to Sir W. Coventry's chamber I find him abroad; but his clerk, Powell, do tell me that ill news is come to Court of the Dutch breaking the chain at Chatham; which struck me to the heart. And to White Hall to hear the truth of it; and there, going up the Park stairs, I did hear some lackeys speaking of sad news come to Court, saying, there is hardly anybody in the Court but do look as if he cried. I would not go into the house for fear of being seen, but slunk out and got into a coach. I met Roger Pepys, newly come out of the country. He and I talked aside a little, he offering a match for Pall, one Barnes, of whom we shall talk more the next time. His father married a Pepys. In discourse, he told me that his grandfather, my great-grandfather, had £800 per annum, in Queen Elizabeth's time, in the very town of Cottenham; and that we did certainly come out of Scotland<sup>1</sup> with the Abbot of

<sup>1</sup> William Pepys was born at Dunbar in Scotland, brought up by the Abbot of Crowland, in Huntingdonshire, placed by him at Cottenham, and made 'bailiff of all his lands in Cambridgeshire.' He died in 1519, leaving issue three sons and three daughters.

*June 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

Crowland. Home, where all our hearts do now ache; for the news is true, that the Dutch have broke the chain and burned our ships, and particularly the Royal Charles;<sup>1</sup> other particulars I know not, but most sad, to be sure. And, the truth is, I do fear so much that the whole kingdom is undone, that I do this night resolve to study with my father and wife what to do with the little that I have in money by me, for I give up all the rest that I have in the King's hands, for Tangier, for lost. So God help us! and God knows what disorders we may fall into, and whether any violence on this office; or perhaps some severity on our persons, as being reckoned by the silly people, or perhaps may, by policy of State, be thought fit to be condemned by the King and Duke of York, and so put to trouble; though, God knows! I have, in my own person, done my full duty, I am sure. Home, and to bed with a heavy heart. The manner of my advising this night with my father was, I took him and my wife up to her chamber, and shut the door, and there told them the sad state of the times: how we are like to be all undone; that I do fear some violence will be offered to this office, where all I have in the world is, and resolved upon sending it away—sometimes into the country, sometimes my father to lie in town, and have the gold with him at Sarah Giles's.

13th. No sooner up, but hear the sad news confirmed of the Royal Charles being taken by them, and now in fitting by them—which Pett should have carried up higher by our several orders, and deserves, therefore, to be hanged for not doing it—and burning several others; and that another fleet is come up into the Hope. Upon which news the King and Duke of York have been below<sup>2</sup> since four o'clock in the morning, to command the sinking of ships at Barking Creek, and other places, to stop their coming up higher: which put me into such a fear, that I presently resolved of my father's and wife's going into the country; and, at two hours' warning, they did go by the coach this day, with about £1300 in gold in their night-bag. Pray God give them good passage, and good care to hide it when they come home! but my heart is full of fear. They gone, I continued in fright and fear what to do with the rest. W. Hewer hath been at the banker's, and hath got £500 out of Backwell's hands of his own money. But they are so called

<sup>1</sup> Van de Velde's drawings of the conflagration of the English fleet, made by him on the spot, are in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Below London Bridge.

hour almost letters from Sir W. Coventry, calling for more fire-ships: and an order from Council to enable us to take any man's ships; and Sir W. Coventry, in his letter to us, says he do not doubt but at this time, under an invasion, as he owns it to be, the King may, by law, take any man's goods. At this business late, and then home, where a great deal of serious talk with my wife about the sad state we are in, and especially from the beating up of drums this night for the train-bands upon pain of death to appear in arms tomorrow morning, with bullet and powder, and money to supply themselves with victuals for a fortnight; which, considering the soldiers drawn out to Chatham and elsewhere, looks as if they had a design to ruin the City and give it up to be undone; which, I hear, makes the sober citizens to think very sadly of things.

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we are bought and sold—that we are betrayed by the Papists; and others, about the King, cry out that the Office of the Ordnance hath been so backward as no powder to have been at Chatham nor Upnor Castle till such a time, and the carriages all broken; that Legg is a Papist; that Upnor, the old good castle built by Queen Elizabeth, should be lately slighted; that the ships at Chatham should not be carried up higher. They look upon us as lost, and remove their families and rich goods in the City; and do think verily that the French, being come down with an army to Dunkirk, it is to invade us, and that we shall be invaded. Mr. Clerke, the solicitor, comes to me about business, and tells me that he hears that the King hath chosen Mr. Pierpoint,<sup>1</sup> and Vaughan of the West, Privy Councillors; that my Lord Chancellor was affronted in the Hall this day, by people telling him of his Dunkirk House; and that there are regiments ordered to be got together, whereof to be commanders my Lord Fairfax, Ingoldsbey, Bethell, Norton, and Birch, and other Presbyterians; and that Dr. Bates will have liberty to preach. Now, whether this be true or not, I know not; but do think that nothing but this will unite us together. Late at night comes Mr. Hudson, the cooper, my neighbour, and tells me that he came from Chatham this evening at five o'clock, and saw this afternoon the Royal James, Oak, and London burnt by the enemy with their fire-ships; that two or three men-of-war came up with them, and made no more of Upnor Castle's shooting than of a fly; that those ships lay below Upnor Castle, but therein, I conceive, he is in an error; that the Dutch are fitting out the Royal Charles; that we shot so far as from the Yard thither, so that the shot did no good, for the bullets grazed on the water; that Upnor played hard with their guns at first, but slowly afterwards, either from the men being beat off, or their powder spent. But we hear that the fleet in the Hope is not come up any higher the last flood; and Sir W. Batten tells me that ships are provided to sink in the River, about Woolwich, that will prevent their coming up higher if they should attempt it. I made my will also this day, and did give all I had equally between my father and wife.

14th. Up, and to the office, where Mr. Fryer comes and tells me that there are several Frenchmen and Flemish ships in the River, with passes from the Duke of York for carrying of prisoners

<sup>1</sup> William Pierrepont, called 'wise Pierrepont,' younger son of the first Earl of Kingston, and brother of the Marquis of Dorchester. His grandson, Robert, succeeded as third Earl of Kingston.

that ought to be parted from the rest of the ships, and their powder taken, lest they do fire themselves when the enemy comes, and so spoil us; which is good advice, and I think I will give notice of it, and did so. But it is pretty odd to see how everybody, even at this high time of danger, puts business off of their own hands! He says that he told this to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to whom I, for the same reason, was directing him to go; and the Lieutenant of the Tower bade him come to us, for he had nothing to do with it. And yesterday comes Captain Crew, of one of the fire-ships, and told me that the officers of the Ordnance would deliver his gunner's materials, but not compound them,<sup>1</sup> but that we must do it. Whereupon I was forced to write to them about it; and one that like a great many come to me this morning, by and by comes Mr. Wilson, and, by direction of his, a man of Mr. Gauden's; who are come from Chatham last night, and saw the three ships burnt, they lying all dry, and boats going from the men-of-war to fire them. But that that he tells me of worst consequence, is that he himself, I think he said, did hear many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships speaking to one another in English; and that they did cry and say, 'We did heretofore fight for tickets: now we fight for dollars!' and did ask how such and such a one did, and would commend themselves to them, which is a sad consideration. And Mr. Lewes, who was present at this fellow's discourse to me, did tell me that he is told that when they took the Royal Charles, they said that they had their tickets signed, and showed some, and that now they come to have them paid, and would have them paid before they parted. And several seamen came this morning to me, to tell me that if I would get their tickets paid, they would go and do all they could against the Dutch; but otherwise they would not venture being killed, and lose all they had already fought for: so that I was forced to try what I could do to get them paid. This man tells me that the ships burnt last night did lie above Upnor Castle, over against the Dock; and the boats came from the ships of war and burnt them: all which is very sad. And masters of ships, that we are now taking up, do keep from their ships all their stores, or as much as they can, so that we can despatch them, having not time to appraise them nor secure their payment; only some little money we have, which we are fain to pay the men we have with, every night, or they will not work. And indeed the hearts

<sup>1</sup> Meaning, apparently, that the ordnance would deliver the charcoal, sulphur, and saltpetre separately, but not mix them as gunpowder.

as well as affections of the seamen are turned away; and in the open streets in Wapping, and up and down, the wives have cried publicly, 'This comes of your not paying our husbands; and now your work is undone, or done by hands that understand it not.' And Sir W. Batten told me that he was himself affronted with a woman, in language of this kind, on Tower Hill publicly yesterday; and we are fain to bear it, and to keep one at the office door to let no idle people in, for fear of firing of the office and doing us mischief. The City is troubled at their being put upon duty: summoned one hour, and discharged two hours after; and then again summoned two hours after that, to their great charge as well as trouble. And Pelling, the potticary, tells me the world says all over that less charge than what the kingdom is put to, of one kind or other, by this business, would have set out all our great ships. It is said they did in open streets yesterday, at Westminster, cry, 'A Parliament! a Parliament!' and I do believe it will cost blood to answer for these miscarriages. We do not hear that the Dutch are come to Gravesend; which is a wonder. But a wonderful thing it is that to this day we have not one word yet from Brouncker, or Peter Pett, or J. Minnes, of anything at Chatham. The people that come hither, to hear how things go, make me ashamed to be found unable to answer them: for I am left alone here at the office; and the truth is, I am glad my station is to be here, near my own home and out of danger, yet in a place of doing the King good service. I have this morning good news from Gibson: three letters, from three several stages, that he was safe last night as far as Royston, at between nine and ten at night. The dismay that is upon us all, in the business of the kingdom and Navy at this day, is not to be expressed otherwise than by the condition the citizens were in when the City was on fire, nobody knowing which way to turn themselves, while everything concurred to greaten the fire; as here the easterly gale and spring tides for coming up both rivers, and enabling them to break the chain. D. Gauden did tell me yesterday that the day before at the Council they were ready to fall together by the ears at the Council-table, arraigning one another of being guilty of the counsel that brought us into this misery, by laying up all the great ships. Mr. Hater tells me at noon that some rude people have been, as he hears, at my Lord Chancellor's, where they have cut down the trees before his house and broke his windows; and a gibbet either set up before, or painted upon, his gate, and these three words writ: 'Three sights to be seen:

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Albemarle's being made High Constable; but says that they are in great distraction at White Hall, and that everywhere people do speak high against Sir W. Coventry: <sup>1</sup> but he agrees with me, that he is the best Minister of State the King hath, and so from my heart I believe. At night come home Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, who only can tell me that they have placed guns at Woolwich and Deptford, and sunk some ships below Woolwich and Blackwall, and are in hopes that they will stop the enemy's coming up. But strange our confusion! that among them that are sunk they have gone and sunk without consideration the Franklin, one of the King's ships, with stores to a very considerable value, that hath been long loaden for supply of the ships; and the new ship at Bristol, and much wanted there; and nobody will own that they directed it, but do lay it on Sir W. Rider. They speak also of another ship, loaden to the value of £80,000, sunk with the goods in her, or at least was mightily contended for by him, and a foreign ship, that had the faith of the nation for her security: this Sir R. Ford tells us. And it is too plain a truth, that both here and at Chatham the ships that we have sunk have many, and the first of them, been ships completely fitted for fire-ships at great charge. But most strange the backwardness and disorder of all people, especially the King's people in pay, to do any work, Sir W. Pen tells me, all crying out for money; and it was so at Chatham, that this night comes an order from Sir W. Coventry to stop the pay of the wages of that yard, the Duke of Albemarle having related that not above three of 1100 in pay there did attend to do any work there. This evening having sent a messenger to Chatham on purpose, we have received a dull letter from my Lord Brouncker and Peter Pett, how matters have gone there this week; but not so much, or so particularly, as we knew it by common talk before, and as true. I doubt they will be found to have been but slow men in this business; and they say the Duke of Albemarle did tell my Lord Brouncker to his face that his discharging of the great ships there was the cause of all this; and I am told that it is become common talk against my Lord Brouncker. But in that he is to be justified, for he did it by verbal order from Sir W. Coventry, and with good intent; and it was to good purpose, whatever the success be, for the men would have but spent the King so much the more in wages, and yet not attended on board to have done the King any

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn (*Diary*, 29th July 1667) says it was owing to Sir W. Coventry that no fleet was fitted out in 1667.



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dropped out, not many, he thinks, but two, for he 'light, and took them up, and went back and could find no more. But I am not able to tell how many, which troubles me, but the joy of having the greatest part safe there makes me bear with it, so as not to afflict myself for it. Home and to my flageolet. Played with pleasure, but with a heavy heart; only it pleased me to think how it may please God I may live to spend my time in the country with plainness and pleasure, though but with little glory.

16th. (Lord's day.) Comes Roger Pepys and his son Talbot, whom he had brought to town to settle at the Temple, but, by reason of our present stirs, will carry him back again with him this week. He seems to be but a silly lad. I sent them to church this morning. Roger Pepys told me that when I come to his house he will show me a decree in Chancery, wherein there was twenty-six men all housekeepers in the town of Cottenham, in Queen Elizabeth's time, of our name. By and by occasion offered for my writing to Sir W. Coventry a plain bold letter touching lack of money; which, when it was gone, I was afraid might give offence: but upon two or three readings over again the copy of it I was satisfied it was a good letter; only Sir W. Batten signed it, with me, which I could wish I had done alone.

17th. To my office, where busy all the morning, particularly setting my people to work in transcribing pieces of letters, public and private, which I do collect against a black day to defend the Office with and myself. At noon dined at home, Mr. Hater with me alone, who do seem to be confident that this nation will be undone, and with good reason. Wishes himself at Hamburg with a great many more, he says, he believes do; but nothing but the reconciling of the Presbyterians will save us, and I am of his mind. At the office all the afternoon, where every moment business of one kind or other about the fire-ships and other businesses, most of them vexatious for want of money, the commanders all complaining that, if they miss to pay their men a night, they run away; seamen demanding money of them by way of advance, and some of Sir Frecheville Hollis's men, that he so bragged of, demanding their tickets to be paid, or they would not work: this Hollis, Sir W. Batten and W. Pen say, proves a conceited, idle, prating, lying fellow. But it was pleasant this morning to hear Hollis give me the account what, he says, he told the King in Commissioner Pett's presence, whence it was that his ship was fit sooner than others, telling the King how he dealt with the several

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*June 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

if he can, on any good terms. He do harp upon getting my Lord Brouncker to take it on half profit, but that he is not able to secure him in paying him so much. My Lady Jem goes down to Hinchbroke to lie down, because of the troubles of the times here. He tells me now the great question is whether a Parliament or no Parliament; and says the Parliament itself cannot be thought able at present to raise money, and therefore it will be to no purpose to call one.

19th. Comes an order from Sir R. Browne, commanding me this afternoon to attend the Council-board with all my books and papers touching the Medway. I was ready to fear some mischief to myself, though it appears most reasonable that it is to inform them about Commissioner Pett; and so took coach and to the Council-chamber lobby, where I met Mr. Evelyn, who do miserably decry our follies that bring all this misery upon us. While we were discoursing over our public misfortunes I am called in to a large Committee of the Council: present, the Duke of Albemarle, Anglesey, Arlington, Ashley, Carteret, Duncomb, Coventry, Ingram, Clifford, Lauderdale, Morrice, Manchester, Craven, Carlisle, Bridgewater. And after Sir W. Coventry's telling them what orders His Royal Highness had made for the safety of the Medway, I told them to their full content what we had done, and showed them our letters. Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the Tower. He is in his old clothes, and looked most sillily. His charge was chiefly the not carrying up of the great ships, and the using of the boats in carrying away his goods; to which he answered very sillily, though his faults to me seem only great omissions. Lord Arlington and Coventry very severe against him, the former saying that if he was not guilty, the world would think them all guilty. The latter urged that there must be some faults, and that the Admiral must be found to have done his part. I did say an unhappy word, which I was sorry for, when he complained of want of oars for the boats: and there was, it seems, enough, and good enough, to carry away all the boats with from the King's occasions. He said he used never a boat till they were all gone but one; and that was to carry away things of great value, and these were his models of ships; which, when the Council, some of them, had said they wished that the Dutch had had them instead of the King's ships, he answered he did believe the Dutch would have made more advantage of the models than of the ships, and that the King had had greater loss thereby: this they all laughed

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DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

Busy all the afternoon; in the evening did treat with, and in the end agree, but by some kind of compulsion, with the owners of six merchant ships, to serve the King as men-of-war. But, Lord! to see how against the hair it is with these men and everybody to trust us and the King; and how unreasonable it is to expect they should be willing to lend their ships, and lay out 2 or £300 a man to fit their ships for new voyages, when we have not paid them half of what we owe them for their old services! I did write so to Sir W. Coventry this night.

21st. Up, and by water to White Hall, there to discourse with Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Fen about Office business. I found them all aground, and no money to do anything with. Thence homewards, calling at my tailor's to bespeak some coloured clothes, and thence to Hercules' Pillars all alone, and there spent 6d. on myself, and so home and busy all the morning. At noon to dinner, where my wife shows me a letter from her father, who is going over sea, and this afternoon would take his leave of her. I sent him by her three Jacobuses in gold, having real pity for him and her. This day comes news from Harwich that the Dutch fleet are all in sight, near 100 sail great and small, they think, coming towards them; where, they think, they shall be able to oppose them; but do cry out of the falling back of the seamen, few standing by them, and those with much faintness. The like they write from Portsmouth, and their letters this post are worth reading. Sir H. Cholmley came to me this day, and tells me the Court is as mad as ever; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady Castlemaine, at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and there were all mad in hunting of a poor moth. All the Court afraid of a Parliament; but he thinks nothing can save us but the King's giving up all to a Parliament.

22d. In the evening came Captain Hart<sup>1</sup> and Haywood to me about the six merchant-ships now taken up for men-of-war; and in talk they told me about the taking of the Royal Charles: that nothing but carelessness lost the ship, for they might have saved her the very tide that the Dutch come up, if they would have but used means and had but boats, and that the want of boats plainly lost all the other ships. That the Dutch did take her with a boat of nine men, who found not a man on board her, and her laying so

<sup>1</sup> The warrant of the Earl of Sandwich, appointing John Hart, captain of the *Revenge*, 13th September 1665, is among the loose papers in Rawlinson, A 289.

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people cannot depend upon payment anywhere. But the King's declaration in behalf of the bankers, to make good their assignments for money, is very good, and will, I hope, secure me. Cocke says, that he hears it is come to it now, that the King will try what he can soon do for a peace; and if he cannot, that then he will cast all upon the Parliament to do as they see fit: and in doing so, perhaps, he may save us all. The King of France, it is believed, is engaged for this year,<sup>1</sup> so that we shall be safe as to him. The great misery the City and kingdom is like to suffer for want of coals in a little time is very visible, and, is feared, will breed a mutiny; for we are not in any prospect to command the sea for our colliers to come, but rather, it is feared, the Dutch may go and burn all our colliers at Newcastle; though others do say that they lie safe enough there. No news at all of late from Breda what our treaters do.

24th. Troubled a little at a letter from my father, which tells me of an idle companion, one Coleman, who went down with him and my wife in the coach, and come up again with my wife, a pensioner of the King's guard, and one that my wife indeed made the feast for on Saturday last, though he did not come; but, if he knows nothing of our money, I will prevent any other inconvenience. In the evening comes Mr. Povy about business; and he and I to walk in the garden an hour or two, and to talk of State matters. He tells me his opinion that it is out of possibility for us to escape being undone, there being nothing in our power to do that is necessary for the saving us: a lazy Prince, no Council, no money, no reputation at home or abroad. He says that to this day the King do follow the women as much as ever he did. That the Duke of York hath not got Mrs. Middleton, as I was told the other day, but says that he wants not her, for he hath others, and hath always had, and that he [Povy] hath known them brought through the Matted Gallery at White Hall into his [the Duke's] closet; nay, he hath come out of his wife's bed, and gone to others laid in bed for him. That Mr. Brouncker is not the only pimp, but that the whole family are of the same strain, and will do anything

<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV was at this time in Flanders, with his queen, his mistresses, and all his Court. Turenne commanded under him. Whilst Charles was hunting moths at Lady Castlemaine's, and the English fleet was burning, Louis was carrying on the campaign with vigour. Armentières was taken on the 28th May; Charleroi on the 2nd June, St. Winoc on the 6th, Furnes on the 12th, Ath on the 16th, Tournai on the 24th; the Escarpe on the 6th July, Courtray on the 18th, Oudenarde on the 31st; and Lille on the 27th August.



Dunkirk, Tangier, and a barren Queen.<sup>1</sup> It gives great matter of talk that it is said there is at this hour, in the Exchequer, as much money as is ready to break down the floor. This arises, I believe, from Sir G. Downing's late talk of the greatness of the sum lying there of people's money, that they would not fetch away, which he showed me and a great many others. Most people that I speak with are in doubt how we shall do to secure our seamen from running over to the Dutch; which is a sad but very true consideration at this day. At noon I am told that my Lord Duke of Albemarle is made Lord High Constable; the meaning whereof at this time I know not, nor whether it be true or no.<sup>2</sup> Dined, and Mr. Hater and W. Hewer with me, where they do speak so sorrowfully of the posture of the times, and how people do cry out in the streets of their being bought and sold; and both they, and everybody that come to me, do tell me that people make nothing of talking treason in the streets openly: as that we are bought and sold and governed by Papists, and that we are betrayed by people about the King, and shall be delivered up to the French, and I know not what. At dinner we discoursed of Tom of the Wood, a fellow that lives like a hermit near Woolwich, who, as they say (and Mr. Bodham, they tell me, affirms that he was by at the Justice's when some did accuse him there for it), did foretell the burning of the City, and now says that a greater desolation is at hand. Thence we read and laughed at Lilly's prophecies this month, in his Almanac this year.<sup>3</sup> So to the office after dinner; and thither comes Mr. Pierce, who tells me his condition, how he cannot get his money, about £500, which, he says, is a very great part of what he hath for his family and children, out of Viner's hand: and indeed it is to be feared that this will wholly undo the bankers. He says he knows nothing of the late affronts to my Lord Chancellor's house, as is said, nor hears of the Duke of

<sup>1</sup> See 19th February 1666, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> The report was not true.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the following prognostications amused Pepys and his friends: 'The several lunations of this month do rather portend sea-fights, wars, etc., than give hopes of peace, particularly the several configurations do very much threaten Holland with a most strange and unusual loss at sea, if they shall dare to fight His Majesty's forces. Still poor Poland is threatened either by the Muscovites or wandering Cossacks. Strange rumours dispersed in London, some vain people abuse His Majesty's subjects with untruths and ill-grounded suggestions. Much division in London about building; perhaps that may occasion those vain and idle reports. Strange news out of Holland, as if all were in an uproar; we believe they are now in a sad and fearful condition.'

June 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

Captain Cocke did the other day tell me that this Lord Anglesey hath said, within few days, that he would willingly give £10,000 of his estate that he was well secured of the rest, such apprehensions he hath of the sequel of things, as giving all over for lost. He tells me, speaking of the horrid effeminacy of the King, that the King hath taken ten times more care and pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stuart, when they have fallen out, than ever he did to save his kingdom; nay, that upon any falling out between my Lady Castlemaine's nurse and her woman, my Lady hath often said she would make the King to make them friends, and they would be friends and be quiet; which the King hath been fain to do. That the King is, at this day, every night in Hyde Park with the Duchess of Monmouth, or with my Lady Castlemaine. That he [Povy] is concerned of late by my Lord Arlington in the looking after some buildings that he is about in Norfolk,<sup>1</sup> where my Lord is laying out a great deal of money; and that he, Mr. Povy, considering the unsafeness of laying out money at such a time as this, and, besides, the enviousness of the particular county, as well as all the kingdom, to find him building and employing workmen while all the ordinary people of the country are carried down to the sea-sides for securing the lands, he thought it becoming him to go to my Lord Arlington (Sir Thomas Clifford by) and give it as his advice to hold his hands a little; but my Lord would not, but would have him go on, and so Sir Thomas Clifford advised also, which one would think, if he were a statesman, should be a sign of his foreseeing that all shall do well. He tells me that there is not so great confidence between any two men of power in the nation at this day, that he knows of, as between my Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford; and that it arises by accident only, there being no relation nor acquaintance between them, but only Sir Thomas Clifford's coming to him, and applying himself to him for favours, when he came first up to town to be a Parliament-man.

25th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen in his new chariot (which indeed is plain, but pretty and more fashionable in shape than any coach

<sup>1</sup> At Euston Hall, in Suffolk, on the borders of Norfolk, which afterwards came into the Grafton family by the marriage of the first duke with Lord Arlington's only child. Among Pepys's papers (Rawlinson, A 195, fol. 58) is a document entitled, 'Considerations touching the purchase of the Park and Woods near Euston, drawn and presented by Mr. Povy, as his advice to my Lord Arlington, at this time (28th October 1668) in treaty for the purchase of Euston.'

he hath, and yet do not cost him, harness and all, above £32) to White Hall, where stayed a very little: and thence to St. James's to Sir W. Coventry, whom I have not seen since before the coming of the Dutch into the River, nor did indeed know how well to go to see him, for shame either to him or me, or both of us, to find ourselves in so much misery. I find that he and his fellow Treasurers are in the utmost want of money, and do find fault with Sir G. Carteret, that, having kept the mystery of borrowing money to himself so long, to the ruin of the nation, as Sir W. Coventry said in words to Sir W. Pen and me, he should now lay it aside and come to them for money for every penny he hath, declaring that he can raise no more: which, I confess, do appear to me the most like ill will of anything that I have observed of Sir W. Coventry, when he himself did tell us, on another occasion at the same time, that the bankers who used to furnish them money are not able to lend a farthing, and he knows well enough that that was all the mystery Sir G. Carteret did use, that is, only his credit with them. He told us the masters and owners of the two ships, that I had complained of for not readily setting forth their ships, which we had taken up to make men-of-war, had been yesterday with the King and Council, and had made their case so well understood, that the King did owe them for what they had earned the last year, and that they could not set them out again without some money or stores out of the King's Yard; the latter of which Sir W. Coventry said must be done, for that they were not able to raise money for them, though it was but £200 a ship: which do show us our condition to be so bad, that I am in a total despair of ever having the nation do well. After that, talking awhile, and all out of heart with stories of want of seamen, and seamen's running away, and their demanding a month's advance, and our being forced to give seamen 3s. a day to go hence to work at Chatham, and other things that show nothing but destruction upon us. For it is certain that, as it now is, the seamen of England, in my conscience, would, if they could, go over and serve the King of France or Holland rather than us. Up to the Duke of York to his chamber, where he seems to be pretty easy, and now and then merry; but yet one may perceive in all their minds there is something of trouble and care, and with good reason. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Pen, by chariot, and there in the Court met with my Lord Anglesey: and he to talk with Sir W. Pen, and told him of the masters of ships being with the Council yesterday, and that we were not in con-

*June 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

dition, though the men were willing, to furnish them with £200 of money, already due to them as earned by them the last year, to enable them to set out their ships again this year for the King: which he is amazed at; and when I told him, 'My Lord, this is a sad instance of the condition we are in,' he answered that it was so indeed, and sighed. And so parted: and he up to the Council-chamber, where I perceive they sit every morning. It is worth noting that the King and Council, in their order of the 23d instant, for unloading three merchant-ships taken up for the King's service for men-of-war, do call the late coming of the Dutch 'an invasion.' I was told yesterday that Mr. Oldenburgh,<sup>1</sup> our Secretary at Gresham College, is put into the Tower for writing news to a virtuoso in France, with whom he constantly corresponds in philosophical matters; which makes it very unsafe at this time to write, or almost do anything. Several Captains come to the office yesterday and today, complaining that their men come and go when they will, and will not be commanded, though they are paid every night, or may be. Nay, this afternoon comes Harry Russell from Gravesend, telling us that the money carried down yesterday for the Chest at Chatham had like to have been seized upon yesterday, in the barge there, by seamen who did beat our watermen: and what men should these be but the boat's crew of Sir Frecheville Hollis, who used to brag so much of the goodness and order of his men, and his command over them. Sir H. Cholmley tells me great news: that this day in Council the King hath declared that he will call his Parliament in thirty days; which is the best news I have heard a great while, and will, if anything, save the kingdom. How the King came to be advised to this, I know not; but he tells me that it was against the Duke of York's mind flatly, who did rather advise the King to raise money as he pleased; and against the Chancellor's, who told the King that Queen Elizabeth did do all her business in eighty-eight without calling a Parliament, and so might he do, for anything he saw. But, blessed be God! it is done; and pray God it may hold, though some of us must surely go to the pot, for all must be flung up to them, or nothing will be done.

26th. The Parliament is ordered to meet the 25th of July, being, as they say, St. James's day; which every creature is glad of. Walking to the Old Swan, I met Sir Thomas Harvey, whom asking the news of the Parliament's meeting, he told me it was true, and

<sup>1</sup> Henry Oldenburgh, secretary to the Royal Society.

they would certainly make a great rout among us. I answered, I did not care for my part, though I was ruined, so that the Commonwealth might escape ruin by it. He answered, 'That is a good one, in faith, for you know yourself to be secure, in being necessary to the office; but for my part,' says he, 'I must look to be removed; but then,' says he, 'I doubt not but I shall have amends made me, for all the world knows upon what terms I came in': which is a saying that a wise man would not unnecessarily have said, I think, to anybody, meaning his buying his place of my Lord Berkeley [of Stratton]. Colonel Reymes<sup>1</sup> tells me of a letter come last night, or the day before, from my Lord St. Albans, out of France, wherein he says that the King of France did lately fall out with him, giving him ill names, saying that he had belied him to our King, by saying that he had promised to assist our King, and to forward the peace; saying that indeed he had offered to forward the peace at such a time, but it was not accepted of, and so he thinks himself not obliged, and would do what was fit for him; and so made him to go out of his sight in great displeasure: and he hath given this account to the King, which, Colonel Reymes tells me, puts them into new melancholy at Court, and he believes hath forwarded the resolution of calling the Parliament. At White Hall spied Mr. Povy, who tells me, as a great secret, which none knows but himself, that Sir G. Carteret hath parted with his place of Treasurer of the Navy, by consent, to my Lord Anglesey, and is to be Treasurer of Ireland in his stead; but upon what terms it is, I know not: and that it is in his power to bring me to as great a friendship and confidence in my Lord Anglesey as ever I was with Sir W. Coventry. Such is the want already of coals, and the despair of having any supply, by reason of the enemy's being abroad, and no fleet of ours to secure them, that they are come this day to £5 10s. per chaldron.

27th. Wakened this morning, about three o'clock, by a letter from Sir W. Coventry to W. Pen, that the Dutch are come up to the Nore again, and he knows not whether further or no. So up about six o'clock, full of thought what to do with the little money I have left and my plate. So to the office where much business, and the more by my brethren being all out of the way. Horrible trouble with the backwardness of the merchants to let us have their ships, and seamen's running away, and not to be got or kept without money. At noon to dinner, having a haunch of venison

<sup>1</sup> Bullen Reymes, M.P. for Melcombe Regis.

*June 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

boiled, and all my clerks at dinner with me: and mightily taken with Mr. Gibson's discourse of the faults of this war in its management compared with that in the last war, which I will get him to put into writing. Proclamations come out this day for the Parliament to meet the 25th of next month; for which God be praised! and another to invite seamen to bring in their complaints of their being ill used in the getting their tickets and money. Pierce tells me that he hears for certain, fresh at Court, that France and we shall agree; and more, that yesterday was damned at the Council the Canary Company, and also that my Lord Mordaunt hath laid down his Commission, both good things to please the Parliament. Pierce tells me that all the town do cry out of our Office for a pack of fools and knaves; but says that everybody speaks either well, or at least the best, of me, which is my very great comfort, and I think I deserve it, and shall show I have. But he tells me how Matt. Wren should say that he was told that I should say that W. Coventry was guilty of the miscarriage at Chatham, though I myself, as he confesses, did tell him otherwise, and that it was wholly Pett's fault. He hath rectified Wren in his belief of this, and so all is well. News this tide, that about 80 sail of the Dutch, great and small, were seen coming up the river this morning; and this tide some of them to the upper end of the Hope.

28th. Sir W. Batten is come to town. I to see him: he is very ill of his fever, and come only for advice. Sir J. Minnes, I hear also, is very ill all this night, worse than before. We find the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry gone this morning, by two o'clock, to Chatham, to come home tonight: and it is fine to observe how both the King and Duke of York have, in their several late journeys to and again, done them in the night, for coolness. To Sir G. Carteret, and I dined with my Lady: and good company and good dinner. My Lady and the family in very good humour upon this business of his parting with his place of Treasurer of the Navy, which I perceive they do own. They tell me that the Duke of Buckingham hath surrendered himself to Secretary Morrice, and is going to the Tower. Mr. Fenn, at the table, says that he hath been taken by the watch two or three times of late, at unseasonable hours, but so disguised that they could not know him: and when I come home, by and by, Mr. Lowther tells me that the Duke of Buckingham do dine publicly this day at Wadloe's, at the Sun tavern, and is might merry, and sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he would come to him as soon as he had dined.

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June 1667

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

Carteret did tell me that the business was done between him and my Lord Anglesey; that himself is to have the other's place of Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, which is a place of honour and great profit, being far better than the Treasurer's, my Lord of Cork's,<sup>1</sup> and to give the other his, of Treasurer of the Navy; that the King, at his earnest entreaty, did, with much unwillingness but with owning of great obligations to him for his faithfulness and long service to him and his father, grant his desire. My Lord Chancellor, I perceive, is his friend in it. I remember I did in the morning tell Sir H. Cholmley of this business, and he answered me he was sorry for it; for, whatever Sir G. Carteret was, he is confident my Lord Anglesey is one of the greatest knaves in the world. Home, and there find my wife making of tea, a drink which Mr. Pelling, the potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions. To Sir W. Batten's, to see how he did; and he is better than he was. He told me how Mrs. Lowther had her train held up yesterday by her page, at his house in the country: which is so ridiculous a piece of pride as I am ashamed of. I then to Sir W. Pen, who continues a little ill, or dissembles it, the latter of which I am apt to believe. Mr. Pelling told us the news of the town, how the officers of the Navy are cried out upon, and a great many greater men; but do think that I shall do well enough; and I think, if I have justice, I shall. We hear that the Dutch are gone down again; and, thanks be to God! the trouble they give us this second time is not very considerable.

29th. My cousin Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham, came to see me, and he thinks nothing but a union of religious interests will ever settle us; and I do think that, and the Parliament's taking the whole management of things into their hands, and severe inquisitions into our miscarriages, will help us. To my wife, to whom I now propose the going to Chatham, who, mightily pleased with it, sent for Mercer to go with her, but she could not go, having friends at home; and the poor wretch was contented to stay at home on condition to go to Epsom next Sunday. Talking with Sir W. Batten, he did give me an account how ill the King and Duke of York was advised to send orders for our frigates and fire-ships to come from Gravesend, soon as ever news come of the Dutch being returned into the River, wherein no scamen, he believes, was advised with; for, says he, we might have done just as Warwick<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Burlington. Pepys here calls him by his Irish title.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Rich, second of the name, Earl of Warwick.



did when he, W. Batten, came with the King and the like fleet, in the late wars, into the River. For Warwick did not run away from them, but sailed before them when they sailed, and come to anchor when they come to anchor, and always kept in a small distance from them, so as to be able to take every opportunity of any of their ships running aground, or change of wind, or anything else, to his advantage. So might we have done with our fire-ships. And we have lost an opportunity of taking or burning a good ship of theirs, which was run aground about Holehaven, I think he said, with the wind so as their ships could not get her away; but we might have done what we would with her, and, it may be, done them mischief, too, with the wind.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up about three o'clock, and Creed and I got ourselves ready, and took coach at our gate, it being very fine weather, and the cool of the morning; and with much pleasure; without any stop, got to Rochester about ten of the clock. At the landing-place, I met my Lord Brouncker and my Lord Douglas,<sup>1</sup> and all the officers of the soldiers in the town, waiting there for the Duke of York, whom they heard was coming. By and by comes my Lord Middleton, well-mounted: he seems a fine soldier, and so everybody says he is; and a man like my Lord Teviot, and indeed most of the Scotch gentry, as I observe, of few words. After seeing the boats come up from Chatham, with them that rowed with bandoliers about their shoulders and muskets in their boats (they being the workmen of the Yard, who have promised to redeem their credit, lost by their deserting the service when the Dutch were there), I and Creed down by boat to Chatham Yard. Thence to see the batteries made; which, indeed, are very fine, and guns placed so as one would think the River should be very secure. I was glad, as also it was new to me, to see so many fortifications as I have of late seen: and so up to the top of the hill, there to look, and could see towards Sheerness, to spy the Dutch fleet, but could make out none but one vessel, they being all gone. Here I was told that in all the late attempt there was but one man that they know killed on shore, and that was a man that had laid upon his belly upon one of the hills, on the other side of the River, to see the action; and a bullet come, and so he was killed. Thence back to the dock, and in my way saw how they are fain to take the deals of the rope-house to supply other occasions, and how sillily the

<sup>1</sup> James, second Marquis of Douglas, and nephew to the Duke of Hamilton.

*June 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

country troopers look, that stand upon the passes there, and, methinks, as if they were more willing to run away than to fight; and it is said that the country soldiers did first run at Sheerness, but that then my Lord Douglas's men did run also; but it is excused that there was no defence for them towards the sea, that so the very beach did fly in their faces as the bullets came, and annoyed them, they having, after all this preparation of the officers of the Ordnance, only done something towards the land, and nothing at all towards the sea. The people here everywhere do speak very badly of Sir Edward Spragg, as not behaving himself as he should have done in that business, going away with the first; and that old Captain Pyne, who, I am here told, and no sooner, is Master-Gunner of England, was the last that stayed there. Thence by barge, it raining hard, down to the chain; and in our way did see the sad wrecks of the poor Royal Oak, James, and London; and several other of our ships by us sunk, and several of the enemy's, whereof three men-of-war that they could not get off, and so burned. I do not see that Upnor Castle hath received any hurt by them, though they played long against it; and they themselves shot till they had hardly a gun left upon the carriages, so badly provided they were: they have now made two batteries on that side, which will be very good, and do good service. So to the chain, and there saw it fast at the end on Upnor side of the River; very fast, and borne up upon the several stages across the River; and where it is broke nobody can tell me. I went on shore on Upnor side to look upon the end of the chain, and caused the link to be measured, and it was six inches and one-fourth in circumference. It seems very remarkable to me, and of great honour to the Dutch, that those of them that did go on shore to Gillingham (though they went in fear of their lives and were some of them killed, and notwithstanding their provocation at Schelling),<sup>1</sup> yet killed none of our people nor plundered their houses, but did take some things of easy carriage, and left the rest, and not a house burned; and, which is to our eternal disgrace, that what my Lord Douglas's men, who came after them, found there, they plundered and took all away; and the watermen that carried us did further tell us that our own soldiers are far more terrible to those people of the country towns than the Dutch themselves. We were told at the batteries, upon my seeing of the field-guns that were there,

<sup>1</sup> The island near the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, on which Holmes had landed.

that, had they come a day sooner, they had been able to have saved all; but they had no orders, and lay lingering upon the way. Commissioner Pett's house was all unfurnished, he having carried away all his goods. I met with no satisfaction whereabouts the chain was broke, but do confess I met with nobody that I could well expect to have satisfaction from, it being Sunday and the officers of the Yard most of them abroad, or at the Hill house. Several complaints, I hear, of the Monmouth's coming away too soon from the chain, where she was placed with the two guardships to secure it; and Captain Robert Clerke, my friend, is blamed for so doing there, but I hear nothing of him at London about it. But Captain Brookes's running aground with the Sancta Maria, which was one of the three ships that were ordered to be sunk to have dammed up the River at the chain, is mightily cried against, and with reason. I find that here, as it hath been in our River, fire-ships, when fitted, have been sunk afterwards, and particularly those here at the Muscle,<sup>1</sup> where they did no good at all. Our great ships that were run aground and sunk are all well raised but the Vanguard, which they go about to raise tomorrow. The Henry, being let loose to drive up the river of herself, did run up as high as the bridge, and broke down some of the rails of the bridge, and so back again with the tide, and up again, and then berthed himself so well as no pilot could ever have done better; and Punnet says he would not, for his life, have undertaken to have done it, with all his skill. I find it is true that the Dutch did heel the Charles to get her down, and yet run aground twice or thrice, and yet got her safe away, and have her, with a great many good guns in her; which none of our pilots would ever have undertaken. It is very considerable, the quantity of goods which the making of these platforms and batteries do take out of the King's stores: so that we shall have little left there, and, God knows! no credit to buy any. It is a strange thing to see that, while my Lords Douglas and Middleton do ride up and down upon single horses, my Lord Brouncker do go up and down with his hackney coach and six horses at the King's charge. But I do not see that he hath any command over the seamen, he being affronted by three or four seamen before my very face, which he took sillily, methought, and is not able to do so much good as a good boatswain in this business. Back again to Rochester, and then walked to the Cathedral as they were begun of the service, but would not be

<sup>1</sup> Muscle Bank, in the Medway.

*June 1667*

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

seen to stay at church there, besides had no mind, but rather to go to our inn, the White Hart, where we drank and were fain (the town being so full of soldiers) to have a bed corded for us to lie in. Here, in the streets, I did hear the Scotch march beat by the drums before the soldiers, which is very odd. Thence to the castle and viewed it with Creed. Then into the fields, a fine walk, and there saw Sir F. Clerk's house, which is a pretty seat; and into the cherry garden, and here met with a young, plain, silly shopkeeper, and his wife, a pretty young woman, and I did kiss her, and we talked and eat cherries together. Then to our inn where I hear, my Lord Brouncker hath sent to speak with me: so I took his coach, which stands there with two horses, and to him and to his bedside, where he was in bed, and hath a watchman with a halbert at his door; and to him, and did talk a little, and find him a very weak man for his business that he is upon, and do pity the King's service. With Creed back to our inn to supper, and then to bed, but could get no sheets to our bed, only linen to our mouths, and so to sleep.

END OF VOLUME II

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WEST BENGAL  
CALCUTTA

that, had they come a day sooner, they had been able to have saved all; but they had no orders, and lay lingering upon the way. Commissioner Pett's house was all unfurnished, he having carried away all his goods. I met with no satisfaction whereabouts the chain was broke, but do confess I met with nobody that I could well expect to have satisfaction from, it being Sunday and the officers of the Yard most of them abroad, or at the Hill house. Several complaints, I hear, of the Monmouth's coming away too soon from the chain, where she was placed with the two guardships to secure it; and Captain Robert Clerke, my friend, is blamed for so doing there, but I hear nothing of him at London about it. But Captain Brookes's running aground with the Sancta Maria, which was one of the three ships that were ordered to be sunk to have dammed up the River at the chain, is mightily cried against, and with reason. I find that here, as it hath been in our River, fire-ships, when fitted, have been sunk afterwards, and particularly those here at the Muscle,<sup>1</sup> where they did no good at all. Our great ships that were run aground and sunk are all well raised but the Vanguard, which they go about to raise tomorrow. The Henry, being let loose to drive up the river of herself, did run up as high as the bridge, and broke down some of the rails of the bridge, and so back again with the tide, and up again, and then berthed himself so well as no pilot could ever have done better; and Punnet says he would not, for his life, have undertaken to have done it, with all his skill. I find it is true that the Dutch did heel the Charles to get her down, and yet run aground twice or thrice, and yet got her safe away, and have her, with a great many good guns in her; which none of our pilots would ever have undertaken. It is very considerable, the quantity of goods which the making of these platforms and batteries do take out of the King's stores: so that we shall have little left there, and, God knows! no credit to buy any. It is a strange thing to see that, while my Lords Douglas and Middleton do ride up and down upon single horses, my Lord Brouncker do go up and down with his hackney coach and six horses at the King's charge. But I do not see that he hath any command over the seamen, he being affronted by three or four seamen before my very face, which he took sillily, methought, and is not able to do so much good as a good boatswain in this business. Back again to Rochester, and then walked to the Cathedral as they were begun of the service, but would not be

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June